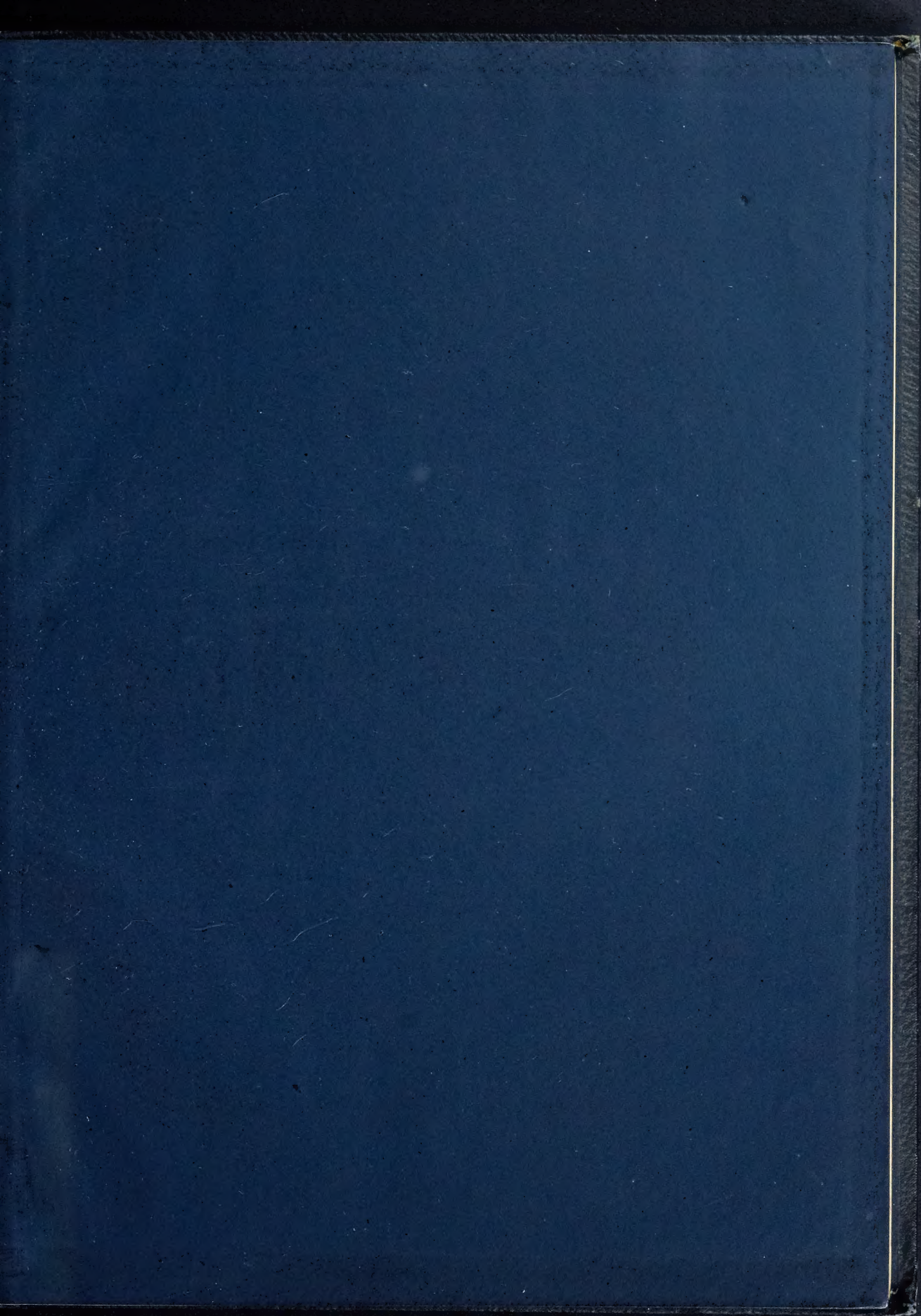


the Ruined ABBEYS



of BRITAIN



Gothic

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RUINED ABBEYS OF BRITAIN.







KIRKSTALL ABBEY.



THE
RUINED ABBEYS
OF
BRITAIN.

BY
FREDERICK ROSS, F.R.H.S.

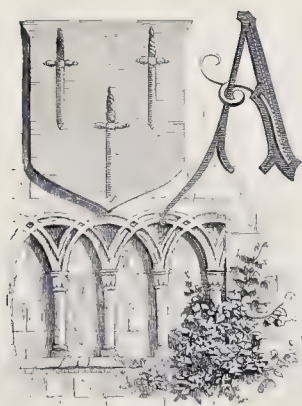
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KIRSTALL IN 1853 FROM AN OLD PRINT

The Cistercian Abbey of Kirkstall.



AMONGST the followers of the Norman Duke William for the subjugation of England were two kinsmen, probably brothers, Walter and Hildebert (or Ilbert) de Laci, of Pontfrete, in Normandy. They were both notable warriors, and contributed to the great victory of Senlac, for which services they were rewarded with vast territories out of the confiscated lands of the dispossessed Saxons, the former in counties Hereford, Gloucester, Berks, Worcester, and Salop, the latter in counties York, Lincoln, and Notts.

Walter was slain in Wales in 1084; Roger, his son, was banished for supporting Prince Robert against William Rufus, and was succeeded by his brother Hugh, who founded the Priory of Llanthony, with whom the male line terminated, his estates passing to his sisters and coheiresses, one of whom died issueless, and the son of the other assumed the name of De Laci, but this line also terminated

on the death of Walter, the last male, in 1241.

Ilbert had a grant of not less than one hundred and fifty manors in Yorkshire, ten in Nottinghamshire, and four in Lincolnshire. Amongst his Yorkshire manors was Kirkby, formerly belonging to Alric the Saxon; and standing on an eminence was the keep, and a few other buildings of a Saxon castle, which he considerably enlarged by the erection of walls, outworks, and entrenchments; made it his residence and *caput baronium*, and changed

the name to Pontfretre, from his native town in Normandy, since modernized into Pontefract and Pomfret. He was also Lord of the Manor of Leeds, which was held of the Lacies by the Paganel family, from the *Domesday Book* to the time of Stephen, when it was confiscated. The Paganels are supposed to have been the builders of the castle of Leeds, which was besieged and taken by King Stephen, and afterwards dismantled, no traces of it remaining *temp.* Henry VIII.

Ilbert founded the collegiate church of St. Clement, within the walls of his castle; married Hawisea, daughter of —, by whom he had issue two sons, Robert and Hugh, and died early in the twelfth century.

Robert, his son and heir, had issue by his wife Matilda two sons, Ilbert and Henry. He acquired the lordship of Blackburnshire, county Lancaster, by purchase from Roger de Buisli and Albert de Greslet, and built the castle of Clitheroe. He founded also a Cluniac Priory at Pontefract for the repose of the souls of his parents. For supporting the cause of Prince Robert, he and his son Ilbert were banished, and the estates confiscated, which were given to Henry de Traverse, and afterwards to Guy de la Val, who held them until the reign of Stephen. He died about the close of the reign of Henry I.

Ilbert, his eldest son, obtained a restitution of the barony from King Stephen, and fought for him against the empress. He was also one of the chief commanders at the Battle of the Standard, 1138, when King David of Scotland sustained so signal a defeat. He married Alice, daughter of Gilbert de Gant, but died without issue.

Henry, his brother, succeeded, and notwithstanding the support Ilbert had given to Stephen, was received into favour by the Empress Maud and her son, Henry II., from whom he had a charter of confirmation of the restitution of the Honour of Pontefract, and the patrimonial estates in England and Normandy. He was the builder of Kirkstall Abbey, after which he went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where he is supposed to have died towards the end of the reign of Henry II. By his wife Albreda, daughter of William de Vesci, he left a son, Robert, his widow marrying, secondly, Eudo de Lisours, to whom she bore a daughter, Albreda, who succeeded to the Laci honours and estates, although she had not a drop of Laci blood in her veins.

Robert, his son, a man of great piety, who loaded the Abbey of Kirkstall with benefactions, was the last of the Laci line, dying *s.p.* in 1193, when he was buried in Kirkstall Abbey.

Thus ended the line of the true Lacies, when Albreda de Lisours, uterine sister of Robert, took possession of the domains under pretence of a reversionary grant from Henry de Laci to her mother, and transmitted them to her son (by Richard Fitz Eustace) John, who assumed the name of De Laci, from whom descended the pseudo Lacys, Earls of Lincoln, which title became extinct in 1348.

Henry de Laci, fourth Baron of Pontfretre, was attacked by a serious illness in 1147, which, in accordance with the superstitious notions then prevalent, he attributed, at the instigation probably of his spiritual advisers, to a chastisement for his manifold sins, made a solemn vow that if it should please God to restore him to health, he would in return build a house in honour of the Blessed Virgin, and for the glory of God. Such compacts or bargains with Heaven were then common enough; half or three fourths of the monasteries and churches having been erected in payment for temporal benefits, or to procure an eternal recompense in the future world. He did recover, and fearful of a relapse, immediately set about the fulfilment of his side of the compact. The Cistercian, a reformed offshoot of the Benedictine order, had been established towards the end of the previous century, and had been introduced into England, at Waverley, in Surrey, so recently as 1129, and about three years afterwards the abbeyes of Tintern, in Monmouthshire, and Rievaulx and Fountains, in Yorkshire, were founded; and of this order he determined his monastery should be, as he had observed that the brethren were more devout and stricter in the observance of their rules than the

Benedictines, amongst whom many corruptions had grown up. He therefore took counsel with the Abbot of Fountains, who applauded his resolution, and promised to aid him by sending a colony of monks to inhabit his house when it should be in a fit state to receive them.

The consideration now was where to build the monastery. The monks professed to be careless of ease and self-indulgence, and to prefer mortification of the flesh; to live in spots where they would have to labour, and toil hard to gain the means of living, as being a wholesome discipline for the soul; and De Laci, keeping this in view, cast his eye over his domains to select a suitable place. At length he thought of the village of Bernoldswic, near Gisburn, towards the border of Lancashire, which he held in fee of Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, the Lord Paramount, a bleak, barren place, which he thought well suited for spiritual discipline, and here he determined to establish his abbey. He communicated his decision to the Abbot of Fountains, who sent a deputation, whom he met at Bernoldswic, conducted them round the boundaries, and made a formal grant to them of the village, with the church and the appurtenant lands, to be held of the Lord Paramount, by payment of a rent of five marks per annum.

Hugh Bigod was the grandson of Roger Bigod, who came to England with the Conqueror. He was steward to King Henry I., as had been his father before him. On the death of that monarch he was instrumental in raising Stephen to the throne, for which service he was created Earl of the East Angles, but was commonly called Earl of Norfolk, and he remained faithful to his master, defending, in his name, the castle of Ipswich. In the twelfth of Henry II. he certified his knight's fee to be one hundred and twenty-five *de veteri feoffamento* and thirty-five *de novo*, of which probably Bernoldswic would be one. He afterwards took up arms for the king's sons in their rebellion against their father, for which he was fined one thousand marks, and had to surrender some of his castles; after which he embarked in a crusade to the Holy Land, and died in 1177. The title became extinct on the death *s.p.* of Roger, the fifth Earl, in 1302. In the reign of Henry the Eighth there was a branch of the family seated at Mulgrave Castle, near Whitby, and at Settrington, on the Yorkshire Wolds, of whom Sir Francis, Knight, was a leader in the second insurrection of the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1537, for which he was executed at Tyburn, London.

The charter of donation having been formally drawn, signed, and witnessed, the pioneers sent from Fountains commenced operations in laying out the grounds, planting trees and vegetables, building a temporary church, and running up a range of habitations, with other necessary offices, all probably of wood cut from the forests of Craven; and by June of the same year the buildings of Mount St. Mary, as the monastery was designated, were ready for the reception of the brethren. Accordingly, Alexander, Prior of Fountains, with twelve monks and ten conversi, or lay brethren, came and took possession of their domicile.

Although the Cistercians were established as a reformed branch of the Benedictines, a revival of the simple primitive rule of St. Benedict, with its devout observance of religious exercises; its austerity and self-abnegation; its community of living and equality of poverty; its recognition of the principle "*laborare est orare*," as displayed in their agricultural pursuits, and tending of sheep for the purpose of wool-growing, which afterwards developed into a great branch of commerce, especially on the moorlands of Yorkshire, which was purchased by the Florentine and Flemish merchants; its attention to the spiritual wants of the people; and its charity to the poor; still were they not indifferent to the comforts, pleasures, and amenities of life, and had a keen perception of the beauties of nature, with which they loved to surround themselves. They ever chose for their home some secluded valley of fertile land, garnished with picturesque surroundings of wood-clothed hills, glens rich in vegetation, waterfalls if possible, and a river or never-failing streamlet meandering through the midst, and these lands they laid out tastefully in gardens, orchards, and meadows, cultivating in them all sorts of fruits and vegetables. In the way of architecture, too, they had an equally keen

perception of the majestic and grand, and loved to dwell in noble halls, with clustered pillars, groined roofs, tessellated pavements, traceried windows, with limnings of scripture stories, saintly legends, and figures of holy personages in stained glass, and to have a noble tower rising from their church, which should stand out as the great architectural feature of their valley, many of which still remain, imparting a picturesque charm to many an English landscape.

The buildings of the monastery were erected on the margin of a brook to the west of the village, fragments of which are occasionally turned up. The monks have now settled themselves in their new abode, and Henry de Laci has assigned to them the town and church of Bernoldswic for their maintenance, which was confirmed by Henry de Murdac, Archbishop of York, formerly Abbot of Fountains. The church was the parish church of seven villages,



FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

from two of which the inhabitants were ejected to make room for the monastery; but the rector persisted in performing Divine Service, and the people to come, contending that it was their parish church, to which they had a right, although it was assigned to the abbot and monks, which seems to have displeased the new comers; at any rate a quarrel arose between the ejected parishioners and the abbey, and to settle the matter effectually, Alexander, who had been chosen abbot, pulled it down. The rector and parishioners upon this cited him before the Metropolitan, when Murdac, who would naturally have leaned towards his friends from Fountains, would seem to have decided that it was an unjust act, thus displaying his rectitude in not allowing friendship to interfere with justice; for Alexander appealed to Rome, and the Pope, after hearing the case, declared in favour of the abbey, saying that, "To pull a church down to establish a monastery was a good and pious act; for a lesser should always give way to a greater good, and that side should prevail, in disputes of this nature, which would be most prolific of piety. Undoubtedly a monastery, being a shelter and nursery of holy men, was much better than a mere church, where a single priest preached to the unlettered people, for the brethren would be not one solitary spiritual guide, but a

number of teachers, who would instruct the ignorant much more effectually than a single secular priest, and the abbey would become a centre of piety, whence spiritual light would radiate all round."

Six years passed over the heads of the fraternity of *Mons Sanctæ Mariæ*, but they were years of incessant struggle with hardships and suffering, combined with the hostility of their ill-treated neighbours, whom they had deprived of home and church. The seasons were unusually inclement, and the fierce winter winds penetrated through the interstices of their wooden walls, causing them to shiver with cold, and their voices to quaver at their religious exercises; the rains of the summer were such as to prevent the ripening of their crops, and but for the benefactions of their patron they would have starved for want of food; moreover, they were exposed to continual raids from the Scots, who swept down from their mountains, through Cumberland, and carried off their cattle and sheep, and whatever else they could lay



FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

their hands upon. If they chanced to garner some small portion of grain, it was either taken or set fire to by the northern marauders, and they constantly regretted having left the smiling valley of the Skell for the bleak, exposed upland of Bernoldswic.

The monks soon began to find that the spot in which they were located did not suit them, and many an animated discussion took place in the chapter relative to a removal to some more favoured place. Bernoldswic might be adapted to the Benedictines, but not to the Cistercians,—

"St. Bernard loved the valley,
And Benedict the hill;"

and they finally resolved upon looking out for some sequestered valley where they might establish their home, remote from the turmoil of the world; sheltered, in comfort, from the north-eastern blasts which sweep over Yorkshire with such fury; out of the way taken by the Scottish marauders; and where the fertility of the soil promised to supply them with the necessities of existence; moreover, where they could build their monastery in the midst of natural scenery such as was delightful to their sense of the picturesque.

Amongst the monks who accompanied Alexander to Bernoldswic was one styled "Serlo the Grammarian," brother to Ralph, the learned Abbot of Pershore. He was a man of considerable erudition and literary accomplishments, was formerly a canon of York Cathedral, and embraced the monastic life at Fountains, whither it is said he returned and was elected superior of the abbey, although his name does not appear in the list of abbots, and is represented as having been "great in body, mind, and worth." He was author of the following works:—"Of the war between the King of Scotland and the Barons of England," in Latin verse; "Of the Difference of Words;" "Of the Death of Somerledy, King of Man;" "On the Lord's Prayer;" "Of Dissyllables;" "Of Equivocal Words;" "On Words that have but one Meaning." He composed also a very meagre history of his abbey during its sojourn at Bernoldswic, in which he speaks of Henry de Laci as "vir magnorum rerum et inter proceres regni notissimus," which was continued by other hands in the Kirkstall chronicle. Two relics of the Bernoldswic establishment have been found in modern times on turning up the earth where it stood, a wooden tankard with a copper rim, gilt and chased, and a jar made of bell metal.

Whenever Abbot Alexander went abroad on business of the monastery, he kept a sharp look-out for some more desirable spot whereon to replant the abbey. On one occasion he came to the banks of the river Aire, to the spot where he recollected that five hundred years previously, Penda, the Pagan King of Mercia, who had sworn to extirpate the Christianity of Northumbria, had fallen in a battle with Oswy, King of the Northumbrians, which was the last dying struggle of Paganism against the religion of Christ, the latter becoming from that time the established religion of the Saxon Heptarchy; and it occurred to him that if he could find a suitable, secluded valley in the neighbourhood, it would be fitting and appropriate there to build the abbey, as symbolical of that great triumph of the true religion over the worship of Odin, from whose walls prayers and songs of praise should for all time ascend to Heaven. Close by where the battle had been fought was the ancient agricultural village of Ledes, a very different place from the modern Leeds, with its thousand lofty chimneys belching forth clouds of black smoke, with the rush of traffic in its streets, and the never-ceasing din of its steam-driven machinery. At the time of the Domesday Survey, the manor of Leeds consisted of eleven to twelve hundred acres, with twenty-seven villeins and four sokemen, fourteen ploughs, a church, and a mill. There was arable land enough to employ six ploughs, eleven acres of pasture, and the remainder occupied by forest trees, roads, the homesteads of the farms, and the rude huts of the labourers. As the survey had only been made sixty years previously, we may presume it had not undergone much alteration when the abbot visited it, especially as Leland, four hundred years subsequently, describes it merely as a "praty town," but not so "quik" as Bradford. The principal new feature would be a castle, built by the Lacies or the Paganels, which would give an air of importance to the village, and of which there is a tradition that the unfortunate Richard II. was temporarily confined within its walls, previously to his barbarous murder in Pontefract Castle. It is supposed to have stood on what is now called Mill Hill, but not a vestige of it is left. The manor was part of the extensive possessions of the Lacies, but was held under Henry de Laci now as Lord Paramount, by the Paganels.

The abbot, ruminating on the past, when Oswy and Penda met in mortal conflict, and indulging in day-dreams of the glorious future of his projected abbey, with its Heaven-aspiring towers and pinnacles, wandered along the left bank of the river, then flowing along towards the estuary of the Humber with crystal purity, when suddenly he came to a valley of singular beauty, walled in by rising uplands, and overspread by luxuriant groves of trees, and it struck him that this was the very spot for his abbey. As he passed along, he fancied he heard the accents of devotion, and presently he came upon a community of hermits who had taken up their residence there, lived in separate cells, and subsisted frugally on roots of the earth,

fruit of the trees, and water of the river. They were pale and macerated in figure and aspect, with flowing beards, and were garbed in long robes of coarse texture. As he approached, a venerable, white-bearded man, who appeared to be leader of the devotions, came forward, and in the conversation which ensued, he informed the abbot that his name was Selet, and that he had come from the south of England, having been directed by a voice in the darkness of the night, when he lay on his couch, saying, "Arise, Selet; go forth into the province of Northumbria, and there seek out a valley called Airedale, for there shalt thou provide a habitation for me and my son, that shall be called Christall;" that on enquiring from whom the voice proceeded, he had the reply, "I am Mary, and my son is Jesus of Nazareth." He added that, obedient to the injunction, he traversed England, encountering many difficulties and privations; at length entered Northumbria, and by the aid of some shepherds found the valley of Airedale; that he had constructed a hut from boughs of trees, and had been joined by other pious-minded men, who desired to seclude themselves from the world, and devote their lives to mortification and prayer, and that now they lived together according to the rules of the brethren of Lerath, having all things in common, and subsisting on the spontaneous fruits of the earth, or by the labours of their hands.

The abbot represented to him that as laymen they were as sheep without a shepherd, that they obeyed no authorized rules, and that their souls were in peril through not having made their vows in orthodox fashion; pointing out how necessary it was, if they wished to secure the salvation of their souls, to subject themselves to some regularly ordained superior. He further told him that he himself was the abbot of a community of Cistercian monks, who were seeking for a place on which to build a new monastery, and as this appeared to be a suitable locality, he suggested that they should establish themselves here, and that Selet and his brother anchorites should associate themselves as monks with them, and thus become members of a properly constituted community. Selet, who appeared to coincide with the views expressed by the abbot, consulted with the other hermits, the majority of whom were of opinion that it would be a desirable and salutary arrangement.

The abbot lost no time in repairing to his patron, Henry de Laci, representing the unsuitability of Bernoldswic, in respect to its exposed situation, its infertility, and its dangerous position in regard to the Scottish marauders, and painting in lively colours the eligibility of the valley of the Aire, shewing that it was surrounded on the north and east by sheltering hills, clothed with forest trees for fuel, that it abounded with stone for the erection of the buildings, and with iron ore, from which could be obtained any quantity of that necessary metal, and that through the valley there ran a silvery stream with abundance of fish, all which things Bernoldswic lacked. De Laci expressed himself perfectly willing to the transfer, but unfortunately the valley did not belong to him, being in the Lordship of William de Poictou; nevertheless he promised to use his influence with the owner, in obtaining the valley for them. Soon after he paid a visit to De Poictou, who readily consented, and made a grant of the valley to the abbot and monks in consideration of the payment of five marks per annum. In 1152 they commenced operations by laying the foundations of the church, which was built entirely at the cost of Laci. The valley was then in a state of nature, but Alexander, who was an able designer, made plans for laying the grounds out, and in a very few years, by thinning the forest trees, planting orchards and gardens, digging fish-ponds, constructing terraces for flowers, and by other works of use and ornament it became a perfect paradise.

The abbot also designed and planned the whole of the buildings, with, however, no great amount of inventive genius, excepting in the architectural details, as they were erected according to the usual Cistercian arrangement of the monastic offices. "The architecture of Kirkstall Abbey lies open to much and original observation. The great merit of this structure, as a study for those who are desirous of assigning, by internal evidence, a proper date to every

ancient building, is its unity of design. Kirkstall Abbey is a monument of the skill and of the perseverance of a single man. Accordingly there are in the original fabric no appearances of after-thought,—no deviation from the first plan. Not only the arrangement, proportions, and relations of the different apartments are rigidly conformed to that peculiar principle which prevailed in the construction of religious houses erected for, rather than at the expense of, the monks, but every moulding and ornament appears to have been wrought from models previously studied and adapted to the general plan. Deviating from the pure Norman style, the columns of the church are massy as the cylinders of the former age, but channeled rather



INTERIOR VIEW EAST

than clustered. The capitals are Norman; the intercolumniations, though narrow, yet nearly one third wider than those of the most massy Saxon. The arches which surmount them are grooved and moulded, with an evident relation to the columns."

The monastery lay on the left bank of the Aire, the church forming the northern side of the group, southward of which were all the other buildings, the whole forming a sort of oblong of four hundred and forty-five feet by three hundred and forty feet. Between them and the river were two fishponds. The entire area of the abbey close comprehended about thirty acres, which was surrounded by a wall, supposed to have been battlemented, with the principal entrance gateway at the north-west angle. In the northern portion of the enclosure were the orchard, garden, and burial-ground, comprising six acres; a meadow called Brewhouse Croft of five acres; a pasture of half an acre called Pentes Close, and another of two acres called Colman Croft, with two mills and stables.

The church was cruciform, with nave and side aisles, chancel and transepts, with three chapels in each on the eastern sides; the entire length being two hundred and forty-four feet. At the intersection was a square tower, which originally did not reach much above the roof of the nave, but was raised considerably in the reign of Henry VII., which imparted to the grouping of the buildings a much more majestic aspect. Southward, extending the whole length of the nave, was the cloister quadrangle, one hundred and forty-three feet by one hundred and fifteen, which was so placed in Cistercian houses, in order that the church might shelter it from the north wind, and that it might enjoy to the full extent the benefit of the



WEST FRONT

sun's warmth. The central area was used as a cemetery for the monks, and on the western side were the double-arched cloisters, with the dormitory of the lay-brethren above, whilst projecting from the southern end, to the west, was what is supposed to have been the Elym-sinarium and the chapel for wayfarers. Running southward of the transept was a range of buildings, some of which are suppositions, but doubtless tolerably correct in their designation as corresponding with the usual arrangement of such offices in abbeys of the Cistercian order. They were the archivum, where the records, plate, and other valuables were deposited; the chapter house; the study where the novices were taught; the refectory, above which was the monks' dormitory; the abbot's kitchen, and extending eastward therefrom the abbot's house. South of the quadrangle were, on the west, the library and the scriptorium, over which it is supposed was the infirmary, which however seems improbable, as it was generally placed at a

distance from the other buildings, and to the north of the church; and on the east the cellarer's offices, such as the larder, the brewhouse, the bakery, etc.; south of these were the locutorium and the reception room, the great kitchen, and the refectory for strangers.

During the abbacy of Alexander, the architect, which lasted until 1182, there were completed the church, the cloisters, the chapter-house, the refectory, the dormitories for the monks and the lay-brethren, and most of the other offices, a rapidity of progress most unusual, and speaking much for the energy of the abbot, and for the munificence of the founder in the prompt supply of funds.

The monastery was at first, and for some time, called Headingly Abbey, being situated in that township, but afterwards the name of Christall, subsequently modified to Kirkstall, was adopted, being that mentioned to Seleth in his supernatural visitation. The name of Christall still lingers in the neighbourhood, although it is only known as Kirkstall to strangers.

Seleth and some of the hermits joined the fraternity, but others who preferred a more solitary life, as being more conducive to their souls' health, left and fixed their abodes in grottoes or cells in more remote and secluded spots.

Henry de Laci supplied the community with provisions, until their lands became sufficiently productive to furnish them with food. Very soon after 1152, when the buildings were sufficiently advanced, the monks left Bernoldswic and took possession of them, converting their former home into a grange.

Whitaker says, "The first thing that strikes us is the excellence of the mason work. The stone and the style of architecture were plainly selected with a view to durability and little consideration for expense. The former is a species of bastard granite, capable of receiving a fine surface, and impregnable to the weather. Of the high polish which the artizans of the twelfth century could bestow on this rough material, a few satisfactory specimens have been found in the cylindrical pillars that till last year supported the arches of the refectory, and were themselves thus protected from the edacity of time and atmosphere. These relics of ancient skill even now almost shine after the hand that finished them seven hundred years back, and exhibit evidence of having been wrought to a greater perfection than is perceptible in any modern cuttings of the same sort of stone."

History and List of Abbots.

Unfortunately, owing to the destruction and dispersion of the records of the abbey at the dissolution, it has little or no history, such of its annals as have come down to us consisting chiefly of disputes about land rights, struggles with ecclesiastical authorities, the acquisition of landed possessions, and chartered privileges and immunities.

The Cistercians, in intellectual power, were very inferior to the Benedictines, the latter furnishing a succession of eminently learned men, who, amongst other works of culture and genius, have left detailed histories of their monasteries, as have also the Augustines; whilst the Cistercians, more devout perhaps, troubled themselves not with literary pursuits, deeming their time best spent in attending to their religious exercises, and in promoting the temporal well-being of their monasteries. Hence the annals of Kirkstall are meagre in the extreme, for long periods nothing being known save the names of the successive abbots, particularly during the last three centuries, from the time of King John to the Dissolution. It may be that the years passed along so evenly, and with so eventless a flow, that they had no history to make record of; yet there must have occurred, during those three centuries, circumstances in connection with the house that we should now be glad to know something of.

1. ALEXANDER, 1147—1182. Alexander was not only the first, but the greatest of the line of abbots—"a true abbot, not only in name, but in reality." But for him, we should have had no Kirkstall Abbey, no majestic ruin, mirroring itself in the waters of the Aire, the charm of every passer-by. He was a man of dauntless energy, persistent

perseverance, diplomatic skill, great artistic genius, and fervent piety. It was he who when young had been elevated to the Priorship of Fountains; that was selected as the leader of the colony of monks to Bernoldswic, to establish a new abbey there; it was he who struggled so manfully with the difficulties, trials, and privations which beset the community during its five years' residence there; it was he who sought out the valley of the Aire, negotiated with the hermits, and diplomatized with Henry de Laci and William of Poitou; it was he who laid out the grounds, designed the buildings, and superintended their erection; and it was he who for thirty-five years governed the abbey with wisdom and discretion, and left it established on a firm foundation, with a prospect of becoming a powerful and useful institution. Had a less wise and judicious leader been sent with the monks of Fountains, we might have had an obscure and small monastery, but we should not have had a Kirkstall. Boothroyd, in his *History of Pontefract*, says that Alexander and his patron, Henry de Laci, died about the same time, and were both buried in the newly founded abbey. De Laci, shortly before his death, gave half a silver mark per annum, out of his Clitheroe estates, for a lamp to be hung before the high altar of Kirkstall, to be kept burning perpetually; and a mark of silver per annum for vestments for the abbot, to be paid by his bailiffs punctually at the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin. In 1156, Pope Adrian, formerly a monk of St. Albans, granted the abbot and monks a charter of confirmation of all gifts and of all tithe compositions, with some new privileges, took them under his own protection, and cursed all who should disturb them in any way, or rob them of their possessions.

2. RALPH HAGEITH, 1182—1191, formerly a monk and Prior of Fountains. "A religious man, renowned for his sanctity; a lover of justice, and most zealous for his order." On entering upon his office, he found the abbey, although not rich, still free from encumbrances; and, desirous of maintaining the dignity of the house, he launched out into a more extravagant expenditure than the revenues warranted. In doing this he relied upon the munificence of Robert de Laci, who had succeeded his father, the founder, and who inherited his piety, and to some extent his beneficence. He granted a charter of confirmation of all gifts to the abbey, and added thereto a grant of the manor and park of Accrington, in Lancashire, and of some lands at Roundhay, near Leeds, with exemption from all kinds of toll in every part of his domains. But these did not come up to the sanguine expectations of the abbot, and he soon found himself involved in financial difficulties, for not only had he lavished the revenue with extravagance, but other mischances, such as a murrain amongst the cattle, the seizure of their possessions, etc., befell the house. The greatest loss was that of the valuable grange of Micklethwaite, which had been granted by Roger de Mowbray, who falling under the displeasure of Henry II., the king seized it, turned out the monks, and gave it to Adam de Brus in exchange for the castle of Danby. In short, "Many evils came upon him; contentions abroad, apprehensions at home, mortality among the cattle, tearing away of his possessions, want of necessities, and scarcity of victuals." This condition caused much talk and consternation in the house, the whole of the troubles being laid at the abbot's door, who was certainly blameable in his reckless expenditure of the revenue; but he certainly was not responsible for the loss of the grange, which the monks charged him with. Further, they accused him of robbery, inasmuch as he had given a gold chalice and a MS. text of the Gospels to the king to propitiate him for the restoration of the grange, but got back neither the one nor the other. It is said that "the abbot bore all these murmurs, reproaches, and charges with great patience;" but still this did not lessen the poverty, which became so great that several of the monks were distributed in other houses. This was done partly to excite the compassion of the king, as a proof of the great straits to which they were reduced, who, although profuse in promises, did nothing, and died without making any restitution. The abbot put on the best face he could in the matter, called a special chapter to consult on the best mode of retrieving their affairs, and so managed the finances as to keep the expenditure within the income, but never succeeded in wholly extricating the abbey from its difficulties. At length, after nine years' struggle with poverty and misfortune, he was translated to the Abbacy of Fountains, and died *circa* 1203.

3. LAMBERT, 1191—1193. "A man of extraordinary innocency and simplicity," who had been a monk forty-two years, and was one of the original settlers at Bernoldswic. He had never before held any office, "but leading the life of the cloister, sat with Mary at the feet of our Lord;" consequently he was altogether unfitted for the government of the house. He was totally ignorant of temporal matters, and allowed the monks to exercise their offices without any supervision, "but committed all to God, and the Lord was with him." Fortunately by this time the affairs of the house had improved; there was plenty of victuals, and peace and concord prevailed amongst the brethren, whose only emulation was in piety and good works. But it was not all sunshine with the abbey. One Richard de Eland claimed the grange of Clivacher, which had been bestowed by Robert de Laci, and the abbot, perceiving the claim to be just, surrendered it, and in compensation was given the village of Accrington by De Laci. Without any ceremony, the abbot caused the villagers to be summarily ejected, their houses pulled down, a grange built on the site, and a farm laid out round the house. The evicted people naturally objected to these unjust proceedings, murmured and protested, and at length, "instigated by the devil," as the monkish chronicler states, burnt down the grange, with all its furniture, and murdered the three lay brethren who had charge of it. The abbot was "sore grieved at this unlucky accident, but commended the souls of the deceased to God, and committed their bodies to the grave." The abbot then laid a complaint before Robert de Laci, who, "provoked by such great presumption," took the matter in hand, and banished not only the perpetrators of the deed, but all their relatives as well. Upon the issuing of this edict, the people, finding that they had gone a little too far in the defence of their rights, came to the abbot and threw themselves at his feet, imploring pardon, which was granted only on condition of giving full satisfaction to the church "for so enormous a sin." This they agreed to, assigning formally to God and the monks all their rights in connection with the land and village, and giving a sum of money for the restoration of the grange, upon which they were permitted to remain in the neighbourhood of their desolated homes. This, and the destruction of Bernoldswic church, are instances of the grasping and unscrupulous covetousness which was placed to the credit of the Cistercians, a characteristic which caused King Richard I. to bequeath "his pride to the Templars and Hospitallers, his lechery to the priests and prelates, and his covetousness

to the White Monks of Cisteaux, for they covet the devil and all." "The abbot, having fitly finished all things, also finished his course at a good old age, and in the third year of his stewardship." In the same year (1193) died Robert de Laci, the last of his race, and was buried in the abbey, his estates passing, without legal right, to his half sister, the daughter of his mother by her second husband, Eudo de Lizours, whose descendants assumed the name of Lacy, and became Earls of Lincoln.

4. TURGESIUS, who held the abbacy nine years, was originally a monk of Fountains, to which abbey he retired to die. He was a man of great austerity, mortifying the flesh in every way. He clothed himself in sackcloth, and wore the same single garment during the heat of summer and the severity of winter cold. "He would thus stand at the night watches, when we, having double garments, were almost frozen stiff, as if he felt no uneasiness, and



JIAN ETI, LOOKING NORTH

we say that he repelled the cold with the ardour of the inner man." He never tasted wine or flesh; "fish he allowed to be placed before him for the sake of those who were with him, but for himself it was only to look at, not to eat." He could never speak without weeping, especially when celebrating mass, "shedding so great a flood of tears that he did not seem to weep, but to rain down tears."

5. HELIAS, a monk of Roche Abbey, occurs in 1209. It is not clear when he succeeded Turgesius, who is said to have been appointed at the death of Lambert, which is said to have occurred in 1193, and that he held the office nine years, which would bring the time of his retirement to Fountains to 1202; yet we find it recorded that William Mustel, "when Helias was abbot," gave the town of Adle, with the advowson of the church, etc., to Kirkstall, and that in 1198, an agreement was made that the monks should pay to the church of Adle twenty shillings per annum, in lieu of the tithes; from which it is evident that Helias was abbot before the year 1198, and the probability is that Turgesius only held the abbacy three or four years, instead of nine. He is represented as having been a good manager of temporals, and to have placed the abbey eventually in a good financial position; "but," adds the monkish chronicler, "he had enough to do to gather what had been scattered, and to preserve what had been gathered, but the Lord was with him." A pseudo Laci was now Lord of Pontefract, and patron of Kirkstall; the genuine Lacies, a race of pious men, had passed away, and the wide-spread domains were held by Roger de Laci (which name he assumed), grandson of Richard Fitz Eustace and Albreda de Lisours. He was a very different man from the original Lacies; cruel in his wars; domineering in demeanour; impious and a scorner of what he

termed the superstitions of priests and monks. He took a great dislike to Helias on his appointment, would neither admit him to his presence nor hold any communication with him, and thwarting him in every way he could, which was a cause of much tribulation to the abbot, who, however, eventually by his meekness and patient endurance of the wrongs inflicted on him, softened even the hard heart of Roger de Laci, who afterwards became friendly and intimate with him. King Henry, who had reft from the abbey the grange of Micklethwaite, being now dead, the abbot thought he might obtain a restitution of it from his successor, King John. He was introduced to the Court by Roger de Laci, who warmly seconded his appeal; but John, who was of a grasping nature, and not particularly scrupulous in matters of justice and right, refused to restore it, excepting on condition that with it the abbey should take the two manors of Collingham and Bardsey, at a fee-farm rent of £90 per annum, which was an enormous sum according to the value of money then, but the abbot was constrained to agree to the terms. Soon afterwards the king, at that time reckless of ecclesiastical censures or papal curses, robbed the abbey of the grange of Heton and some land at Thorpe, to bestow them on one Lawrence, Clerk of Witon.



CLOISTER COURT.

From this time the annals of the abbey are very scanty; of the personal history and characters of the abbots we know little or nothing; even their chronological succession is imperfect, many of the dates given being probably incorrect, and some names lost altogether. Consequently the following list must be looked upon as only approximative, and the marginal successive numbers as referring to those whose names are known.

6. RALPH OF NEWCASTLE succeeded, and died *temp.* Henry III.

7. WALTER. Died 1221-2.

8. MAURICE, 1222—1249.

9. ADAM, 1249—1259.

10. HUGH MIKELAY, 1259—1262. King Henry III., in the forty-fifth of his reign, during the abbacy of Hugh, granted his special protection to the abbot and monks, and charged all his subjects to carry out his views in respect to all the lands, rents, tithes, and other possessions.

11. SIMON, 1262—1269. From this time the revenues, ample as they were, were found to be insufficient to meet the improvident and reckless expenditure that began to be indulged in. Money was borrowed on the security of the rents and tithes, and as the debts gradually increased, greater amounts had to be abstracted from the revenues to pay the interest, leaving a diminishing balance for the maintenance of the house, and involving the necessity of further burrowing to make up the deficiency, as no ideas of retrenching the expenses appear to have entered the heads of the abbots and their official managers of the temporalities.

12. WILLIAM DE LEEDES, 1269—1275.

13. GILBERT DE CORTLES, 1275, deposed 1278, re-elected the same year, and held the office until 1280

14. HENRY KERR, 1281—1284.

15. HUGH GRIMSTON, 1284—1304. By this time the affairs of the abbey had come to a crisis. The standing debt was found, under an inquisition made at his accession, to amount to £5,248 15s. 7d., and fifty-seven sacks of wool, upon which usurious interest had to be paid, which was not always forthcoming, and the creditors were becoming very clamorous for payment. The brethren had been living on their stock, which was now found to be reduced to sixteen draught oxen, eighty-four cows, sixteen yearling and young bullocks, twenty-one asses, and as for sheep, they had entirely disappeared. Under these circumstances the abbot resolved upon soliciting the intercession of Henry, the third and last Earl of Lincoln, the patron of the abbey, with King Edward I., to assist them "in the suspension of the claims upon the monastery, and save them and it from utter destruction," he being a personal friend of the king. De Lacy was at this time with the king in Gascony, and the abbot journeyed thither, as he stated in a letter, "on an uncertain errand, and with a bitter and heavy heart." The journey was long and difficult, "through thickets rather than along highways," in the course of which he was stricken down by a fever, "but blessed be the heavenly Physician, nothing more than a trifling remnant now hangs about us." At length he came up with the king at St. Sever, and explained the case to the earl, "who was touched with pity at the representation," and brought the matter before the king, with whom the abbot had many interviews. "The king was not inclined to interfere with the debt due to the Cardinal, or to Tokes the Jew, or with the wool; yet by the grace of God, obtained through the mediation of your prayers, and by the mediocrity of our own understanding, reflecting that if either of these debts remained undischarged, it would be productive of great inconvenience to the house, we hit upon a remedy which is like to be effectual." The abbot then describes the arrangement he has entered into for the sale of certain lands, for a sum down, to be appropriated to the payment of the debts, and a yearly payment out of the exchequer of Pontefract of twenty-four marks for ever. Priest-like, the wily abbot, who is writing to an official of the house, adds, "But we require you that ye labour night and day, to the utmost of your ability, that everything belonging to you (excepting the crops on the ground, which cannot be removed without being destroyed,) may be entirely taken away before the earl's messenger, whom we purposely detain here, with his horse and groom, shall arrive to take livery and seizing of the lands, and whatever is incapable of being removed, abandon peaceably." He adds further, "It will not be prudent to shew these letters to anyone; but until you have all safe, keep your own counsel secret from everyone out of the bosom of the chapter." Whilst looking after the interests of the house he seems not to have been neglectful of his own, for he continues, "Send me some money by the same hand, however you come by it, even though it be taken from the sacred oblations, that we may at least be able to purchase necessities while we are labouring in your vineyard. In this we earnestly entreat you not to fail, for in truth we were never so destitute before. Farewell, my beloved! Peace be with you. Amen.—From Castle Reginald, on the morrow of St. Martin, A.D. 1287." Abbot Grimston was certainly a clever manager of temporalities, whatever he may have been as the spiritual father of his flock, and had he lived in modern times would have made his mark on the Stock Exchange or in a city warehouse. This is further shewn at the stock-taking of the abbey fourteen years afterwards, in 1301, when it appears that the monastery was in a much more prosperous state than on his accession, being then in possession of two hundred and sixteen draught oxen, one hundred and sixty cows, one hundred and fifty-two yearlings and bullocks, one hundred and fifty-two calves, and four thousand sheep and lambs, whilst the debts amounted to not more than £160. The great number of sheep in their folds is a sure indication of their improved condition, as the Cistercians were the greatest wool-growers of England, and it was one of the chief sources of their income, the wool being sold to the manufacturers of Flanders and the merchants of Italy.

16. JOHN DE BRIDSALL, 1304—*circa* 1313. It would appear that all the difficulties of the abbey had not been entirely removed, as the abbot was necessitated to undertake a journey to have an interview with the king on some perplexing business. He writes a letter from Canterbury "to his reverend brethren the Prior and Convent of Kirkstall," giving an account of his progress, although he does not mention the special business on which he went. He says, "On the morrow of St. Lawrence we were met by letters from the king, in a very threatening style;" that "we were apprized of robbers, who lay wait for us in the woods, under a rock;" and that "we were bound under the penalty of forfeiting all our goods, to abide the king's pleasure. However, having been at length dismissed from his presence with honour, we proceeded on our way; and notwithstanding the delay in London, arrived at Canterbury on Monday evening, our servants and horses being all well. We are not without hope, therefore, that our feeble beginning will be followed by better fortune. On Wednesday morning, the wind blowing fair, we put our horses on board a ship." At this juncture the letter was written, and from the circumstance of taking ship to cross the sea, it seems as if he were going to Rome as well, as he speaks of some doubt as to the time of his return, and commends his bodily safety to the prayers of the brethren. Finally, "But pray especially for the salvation of our soul, for we are not greatly solicitous if this earthly part of us be delivered into the hand of the wicked one, so that the spirit be saved in the day of the Lord; yet we would wish, if it be the will of God, to be committed to the earth, by your hands, wherever you shall dispose." He adds that "the entanglement of worldly occupations," in which he has been long engaged, is not without danger to the soul, but trusts that as they are for the good of the abbey he will suffer no deduction of holiness. He provides for the annual sermon at the Nativity, which they must on no account neglect, and exhorts them to avoid even the appearance of evil. "Written at Canterbury with many tears."

17. WALTER, 1313—1341.

18. WILLIAM, 1341—1346. The town of Bracewell, in Craven, had been granted to the abbey by the founder, Henry de Lacy; and in 1347, Zach, Archbishop of York, appropriated to the abbot and convent the church, reserving for himself and successors the annual payment of ten shillings, and for the Chapter of York five shillings.

per annum; the abbot to provide a vicar, with a stipend of seven marks yearly, and to build for him "a competent house."

19. ROGER DE LEEDES succeeded in 1349.

20. JOHN THRONBERG occurs in 1378.

21. JOHN DE BARDSEY occurs in 1396 and 1399. Stephen, Earl of Albemarle and Lord of Holderness, in 1115, founded an alien cell at Burstwick, in Holderness, for the Benedictine monks of St. Martin de Alecio, near Albemarle, in Normandy, with a prior and monks to take charge of the churches and tithes he had bestowed on that abbey, in Holderness. At this period during the French wars many of these alien cells were siezed by the English monarchs, and were all suppressed in 1414; when the monks of St. Martin, foreseeing their fate, took the wise precaution, in 1395, of selling the Holderness possessions to the abbot and convent of Kirkstall.

22. WILLIAM GRAYSON, 1399—1468. (?) At this time the Cistercians, although they seceded from the Benedictines, in consequence of the loose lives of the latter, seem to have lapsed into depths of profligacy as great as those their founders protested against, and seem to have been especially unmindful of their vows of chastity, which called forth the following decree from the Abbot of Fountains, who appears to have exercised a spiritual jurisdiction, of a paternal character, over the abbot and monks of Kirkstall. Thus runs the rescript, which is dated 1401, and is addressed to "Brother Robert, Abbot of the monastery of Kirkstall," from which it would seem that William Grayson was not the successor of John Bardsey, but that a Robert, and perhaps one or two others, intervened, which explains the evident error of Grayson having held the abbacy sixty-nine years.—"Though by the institutes of our order, the admission of women is prohibited, under heavy penalties, within the precincts of Cistercian abbeys; we, nevertheless, being desirous of the salvation of souls, which, undoubtedly, will be obtained, as well by women as by men, who, on certain days of the year, happen to visit the church of the said monastery of Kirkstall, and which visits, moreover, are clearly allowed in some indulgences granted by Pope Boniface the Ninth, we hereby tolerate, *pro tempore*, on the above-mentioned days, the admission of women to the said church solely; provided, notwithstanding, that such females be not introduced into any other apartment within the confines of the said monastery, neither by the abbot nor by any of the monks, under the penalties awarded by the aforesaid ordinance; which penalties, we, by these presents, decree, and without remission enforce, as well against the abbot as the monks of the aforesaid monastery, if they shall be found to transgress what is permitted them."

23. THOMAS WYMBERSLEY was instituted on the death of Grayson in 1468.

24. ROBERT KELYNBECK, 1499—1501.

25. WILLIAM STOCKDALE, 1501—1509.

26. WILLIAM MARSHALL, 1509—1528.

27. JOHN RIPLEY, or BROWNE, 1528, who surrendered the abbey in 1540, and was granted a pension of £66 13s. 4d., which he was in the enjoyment of in 1553.

"Did superstition form the vast design?
Or evil purposes complete the pile?
Why then emotions, kindred to divine,
Sprung from a source so prison'd and so vile?

Some faults had sol'd the honour of the scene,
Where men, not angels, sought celestial climes;
Yet sometimes gentle Charity was seen,
With tears, effacing much-remember'd crimes."

McNICOLL'S *Elegy on the Ruins of Kirkstall.*

The Dissolution.

Kirkstall escaped the Confiscation Act of 1535, which applied only to the smaller houses, with incomes of not more than £200 per annum, but had to succumb to that of 1539, which comprehended all others. The following is a copy of the deed of surrender, dated November 22nd., 1540:—

"To all the faithful of Christ, to whom this present writing shall come. We, John Rypeley, Abbot of the Monastery of Kirkstall in the County of York, and the Convent of the same place, everlasting greeting in the Lord. Know ye all, that we, the aforesaid Abbot and Convent, by our unanimous assent and consent, with steady minds, of our certain knowledge and proper motion, and certain just and reasonable causes spiritually moving us, our souls, and consciences, have freely and of our own accord given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant, surrender, deliver, and confirm to the most illustrious and invincible Prince, our Lord Henry the Eighth, by the Grace of God King of England and France, Defender of Faith, Lord of Ireland, and Supreme Head of the Church of England upon earth, all our House and Monastery, as also the site, ground, circuit, and enclosure, and the Church of the same Monastery, with all our debts, chattels, and moveables belonging or appertaining

to us or the said Monastery; as well those we at present possess, or those which are due to us or our said Monastery, either by bonds or by any other cause, any way whatsoever.

"Likewise, all and singular, the Manors, Lordships, Messuages, Gardens, Curtilages, Tofts, Lands and Tenements, Meadows, Grazings, Pastures, Woods, Underwoods, Revenues, Reversions and Services, Mills, Passages, Knights' Fees, Wards' marriage, native Villains, with all their Followers, Liberties, Franchises, Privileges, Jurisdictions, Offices, Courts-leet, and of Hundred, View of Frank-pledge, Fairs, Markets, Parks, Warrens, Wine-cellars, Mines, Fisheries, Roads, Paths, Wharfs, Advowsons, Nominations, Presentations, and Donations of Churches,



CLAUSTRUM HOUSE

Vicarages, Chapels, Chantries, and other Benefices whatsoever, Rectories, Vicarages, Chantries, Pensions, Procurations, Annuities, Tithes, Oblations, and all other and singular emoluments, profits, possessions, and hereditaments whatever, as well within the said County of York, as elsewhere in the Kingdom of England and Wales and the Marches of the same, to our said Monastery any way belonging, appertaining, annexed, or incumbent. And all, and all sorts of our Charters, Evidences, Bonds, Writings, and Muniments whatsoever that belong or appertain to us or our said Monastery, in Lands or Tenements or the other Premises, with their appurtenances, or to any parcel thereof in any manner, to have, hold, and enjoy our said Monastery and the aforesaid Site, Ground, Circuit, and Precincts of our Church aforesaid, with all our Debts, Goods, and Chattels; as also, all and singular our Manors, Lordships, Messuages, Lands and Tenements, Rectories, Pensions, and all Premises whatsoever, with all and singular their appurtenances, to the said most Invincible, our King aforesaid, his Heirs and Successors and Assigns, to the use of the said Lord, our King, his Heirs and Successors, for ever. To this behalf, and to all effect of Law that can or may thence follow, we, as becomes us, do submit ourselves and our said Monastery, with all and singular Premises and all that is ours, whatever way acquired; giving and granting, and by these presents we do give and grant to his said Royal Majesty, his Heirs and Successors and Assigns, all and all sort of full and

free faculty, authority, and power to dispose of us and our said Monastery, together with all and singular the Manors, Lands and Tenements, Revenues, Reversions and Services, and singular the Premises, with all their Customs and appurtenances whatsoever; and to dispose of, alienate, give, pass or transfer them at his own free will and pleasure, to whatsoever uses it shall seem good to His Majesty; and we do ratify such dispositions, alienations, donations, conversions and translations, whatsoever way they shall be made by the aforesaid Royal Majesty. Moreover we permit [illegible word] to the end that all and singular the Premises may be, for ever, firm, and that all and singular the Premises may have their due effect. And we do renounce and disclaim, as we have renounced and disclaimed, all Elections, Suits, and Instances, and all other Remedies and Redresses whatsoever for ourselves and our suc-



J. H. P. N.

cessors, on pretence of the aforesaid Disposition, Alienation, Translation and Conversion, and of the other Premises that is or may be competent, on account of deceit, dread, fear, ignorance, or other matter, wholly laying aside and quitting Dispositions, Exceptions, Objections, and Allegations, openly, publicly and expressly, of our certain knowledge, and that of our own accord; and we do recede from them in this writing.

"And we, the Abbot and Convent aforesaid, and our successors, will, by these presents, warrant and for ever defend, against all peoples, to our aforesaid Lord the King, his Heirs, Successors, and Assigns, to the aforesaid use of our said Monastery, and all the Site, Ground, Circuit, Precinct, Mansion, and Church aforesaid, and all and singular the Manors, Lordships, Gardens, Curtilages, Tofts, Meadows, Grazings, Pastures, Woods, Underwoods, Lands and Tenements, Revenues, Reversions and Services, and all and singular the Premises, with all their members and appurtenances; in testimony whereof, we, the aforesaid Abbot and Convent, have with our own hands, in our name subscribed to this present writing, and affixed our common seal to these presents.

"Given in our Chapter House the 22nd. day of the month of November, in the thirty-first year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, and in the year of our Lord 1540."

It must have been a bitter pill for the abbot and monks to attach their signatures to this document.

The estimated annual value of the estates at the Dissolution was £512 13s. 4d. gross, and

£329 12s. 11d. net. Taking into consideration the difference in the value of money, this would represent a net income of not less than some £10,000 of modern money value. But they were worth considerably more than even this large amount, as the system of letting their lands, by monastic institutions, was to grant short leases, and exact a heavy fine on their renewal. Besides this, which represented only the lands let out in farms, there were the farms and granges cultivated by the abbey itself, with all their cattle, sheep, crops, and other matters, of which it is supposed that there were at the dissolution eleven hundred and fifty head of cattle, four thousand sheep, forty-three horses, forty pigs, seventy-five quarters of wheat, fifteen of rye, sixty-five of oats, fifty of barley and malt, and two hundred loads of hay. There were also their plate, books, vestments, and other valuables, which were all given up, or rather confiscated. The confiscation, however, was not absolute, as the abbot and monks were allowed pensions, of which there remained the following in 1553:—

	£	s.	d.
John Ripley, <i>alias</i> Browne, Abbot	66	13	4
Leonard Windress and Anthony Jackson, £8 each	16	0	0
Richard Batson	7	0	0
Edward Heptonstall and John Herwood, £6 13s. 4d. each	13	6	8
William Lupton and Edward Sandal, £6 6s. each	12	12	0
Paul Mason, Thomas Poppe, John Shawe, and Thomas Monk, £5 each	20	0	0
Henry Claughton	2	0	0
Charge on Fees	4	0	0
Charge on Annuities	61	6	8
Total, payable out of the estates	£202	18	8

The site was granted, 34th. Henry VIII. and 1st. and 4th. Edward VI., to Archbishop Cranmer, who had licence at the last-mentioned date to alienate it to Peter Hammond, in trust for Thomas Cranmer, one of his younger sons. It soon, however, passed out of his family, as in the 25th. Elizabeth it was granted to Edmund Downynge and Peter Asheton, and their heirs for ever. It was afterwards purchased by the Saviles of Howley, from whom it passed by marriage to the Brudenels, Earls of Cardigan.

The Ruins.

"When Kirkstall towers, in sad decline,
 Their ivy-mantled turrets raise,
 A mouldering fane—a hallowed shrine—
 A monument of other days;
 Of days, when once in Gothic pride,
 Kirkstall! thou reard'st thy stately head,
 Until war's desolating tide
 This scene of desolation spread.

Once more I hail thy crumbling towers,
 Dismantled with relentless hand,
 Stripped of thy feudal pomp and powers,
 By Cromwell and his iron band.
 Within those hallowed halls of thine,
 No more shall rise the anthem's strain;
 The solemn melody divine
 Is hushed, to never rise again."

C. A. MATTERSON.

Stevens, in 1723, gives a view of the ruins from the north-west, with the square tower entire, excepting three pinnacles, a large window of five lights, and depressed arch on each of the two visible sides. At the west end is a round-headed doorway with receding pillars, and two circular-headed windows above. Eight windows of the same style, one larger than the rest, run along the northern side of the nave, with clerestory of smaller windows above.

The north transept presents two windows and two pinnacles. Trees appear to be growing out of the wall or roof of the northern aisle of the nave, which to some extent hide the clerestory. He writes, "By the ruins it appears to have been a stately fabrick. There were at the east end of the church seven altars, as appears by the distinct chapels, three on each side of the high altar, but to what saints dedicated I cannot learn; nor is there any assistance from the chronicle of Kirkstall, as it is called, in Sir Robert Cotton's Library, which was only so denominated, because it once belonged to Kirkstall Library, but has nothing at all relating to the same. The roof has been off the church ever since the dissolution of the house, but the dortor or dormitory, and some other places that have been converted to private uses, are covered. The tower also, which was built in Henry the Seventh's time, is perfect, the stone smooth and good. Whatever was the primitive state of the place, (for the Cistercians always founded their monasteries in places that had never before been cultivated or inhabited,) it was afterwards a most pleasant seat, adorned with gardens, dovecotes, and whatever was either for use or ornament, and all conveniently seated on the banks of a delicate river, calm and clear, which perhaps has contributed to the misnomer of the place, which is frequently called Christall instead of Kirkstall, not only by the vulgar, but by some persons of more liberal education, and by that name printed in the best maps that were ever made for the county. Some historians also, and particularly Baker, Bale, and Seldon, confound this place with Kirkstead, in Lincolnshire, as may be seen in the *Monasticon*; and the animadverter on Baker has taken no notice of this error, the true name being Kirkstall, for kirk—church, and stall—a seat."

Although the ruins at this period, the beginning of the eighteenth century, retained so many features, perfect as when they were built, they had suffered severely in the century and a half intervening since the dissolution, the stones having been carried away in large quantities to assist in the construction of modern buildings. One instance occurs in the churchwarden's books, in 1583, of the payment of sixpence per day to labourers for conveying stones from Christall Abbey for the repairs of the bridge at Leeds.

Gray, the poet, visited Kirkstall in 1770, and thus describes the ruins as they then were, in a letter to Dr. Wharton, "Kirkstall is a noble ruin in the semi-Saxon style of building, as old as King Stephen, towards the end of his reign, 1152; the whole church is still standing (the roof excepted), seated in a delicious quiet valley on the banks of the river Aire, and preserved with religious reverence by the Duke of Montagu. Adjoining the church, between that and the river, are a variety of chapels and remnants of the abbey, shattered by the encroachments of the ivy, and surmounted by many a sturdy tree, whose twisted roots break through the fret of the vaulting, and hang streaming from the roofs. The gloom of these ancient cells, the shade and verdure of the landscape, the glittering and murmur of the stream, the lofty towers and the long perspective of the church, in the midst of a clear bright day, detained me for many hours, and were the truest subjects for my glass I have met with anywhere, and as I lay at that smoking, ugly, large town of Leeds, I dropt all further thoughts of my journal," etc.

Nine years afterwards two sides of the tower fell, and the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in 1790, gives a view of the abbey from the south-east, marking the position of the fallen stones and debris as they lay diagonally across the northern transept and the north-eastern corner of the nave. In 1803 another view is given, taken from the north, shewing the fractured side of the tower.

Whitaker (1816) writes,—“Among the monastic remains in the North of England, Kirkstall may claim a second place, whether it be considered as a feature in a landscape or as a specimen of architecture. In the former view it must perhaps yield to Bolton; in the latter indisputably to Fountains. The lead and timber only were removed at the Dissolution, and nearly the whole building remains with few additions to the structure of Abbot Alexander.

The whole exhibits that struggle between the Norman and the early Gothic styles which took place in the reign of Stephen. The windows are single round-headed lights; the doors are of the same shape, adorned with zigzag or rectangular mouldings; the columns of the church massy, but clustered with pointed arches and with Saxon capitals. The cloister quadrangle, with the various apartments surrounding it, are nearly entire. The original refectory (for there is another of much later date) has been a magnificent vaulted room, supported on two cylindrical columns, each of a single stone. The chapter house is partly of the original structure, and partly an enlargement, little prior to the Dissolution. The tower, according to the practice of the twelfth century, was carried at first a little higher than the roof; but a lofty and graceful addition made to it, apparently about the time of Henry VII., so loaded the columns on which it stood, that about twenty years ago the north-west pillar gave way, and



FIG. 1. S.W. CORNER OF CLOISTER GALLERY.

drew after it an enormous ruin of two sides of the whole tower, which has, perhaps, contributed to the picturesque effect of the whole."

The ruins of Kirkstall still nestle in the beautiful valley of the Aire, which retains even to this day many of its primeval sylvan charms; but its surroundings have undergone a marvellous change since the time when Abbot Alexander found Seledth and his company of hermits living in seclusion near the scattering of farmhouses and mud cottages called Ledes, and even since the time when Leland found "the praty town not so quik as Bradford." That same town, in the intervening three centuries, has grown into a huge aggregation of churches, chapels, factories, warehouses, and lofty chimneys, with the habitations of its vast population ranged in miles upon miles of streets. And onwards, along the Kirkstall road, are the brick and mortar streets rapidly marching, until now they bid fair to encircle the abbey. The river, a silvery stream in Alexander's time, has become a foul watercourse, defiled and discoloured by the refuse of dyeworks, factories, and chemical works. The sunshine of heaven is frequently obscured by dense volumes of black smoke, issuing forth from the thousand chimneys, whose stygian fumes blast the vegetation of the valley. Ever and anon during the day a railway train rushes along past the abbey, screeching in a way which would have led the old monks, could they have heard it, to have felt assured that it was the foul fiend himself coming to carry off bodily the whole fraternity for their manifold sins.

The church still stands proudly in the midst of the ruins, roofless, and with only two sides of the tower (the eastern and southern) remaining, but otherwise perfect in outline. The tower, as was usual in Norman churches, was low, rising but little above the roof, and was supported on four columns, sufficiently strong to bear the superincumbent weight, but in the reign of Henry VII. an upper story was added, with pinnacles at the corners, which imparted to the church a much more dignified aspect. The columns sustained the additional burthen until 1779, when that at the north-western corner gave way, and brought down with it the northern and western walls, scattering the fragments over the north transept and the nave. Amongst the debris were afterwards found fragments of clay pipes, such as were used by Raleigh for smoking tobacco, shewing that previous to the introduction of the Virginian weed herbs of some kind were used for smoking. The clustered columns of the nave, with square pedestals and Saxon capitals, still support the arches and groinings of the aisles, but those of the nave have disappeared. The west end is in a state of good preservation, with pointed gable, elaborate doorway, and transition windows, the whole mantled with ivy. The chancel and aisles are overgrown with grass, and the walls covered with ivy, which creeps inwards through the window apertures. The roof of the chancel was formerly adorned with intersecting arches and fretwork, some of the ribs still remaining. The great east window of the church, of which the framework only is left, appears to have been a fine architectural work. There are no traces of any monument or sepulchral memorial in the church. There was formerly a pathway through the nave, but in consequence of the damage done to the building by mischievous persons it was closed against the public. Whilst it was open, many spectres and ghostly apparitions were reported to have been seen by those who passed through after nightfall. On one occasion a villager who had to pass through it at midnight came running home with trembling limbs, his hair on end, and his face aghast with terror, who asserted that he had beheld a funeral procession, with a train of mourners, all robed in white garments, passing slowly up the nave towards the chancel. At the present time (1881) a paragraph is going the round of the papers, stating that the remaining portion of the tower is in imminent danger of falling, and that "the roof of one of the aisles is literally showering down stones upon the ground," and that unless immediate steps be taken for the preservation and repair of the remains, the destruction of some of the most picturesque features is inevitable.

The cloister quadrangle, now an orchard, was the burial-ground of the monks, as well as of some wealthy laymen, who paid high prices for the privilege and benefit of sleeping until the resurrection in the company of the holy brotherhood, and in ground so supremely sacred. A coffin of beaten iron has been discovered, and several fragments of gravestones, generally sculptured with crosses, but without inscriptions. One, however, is inscribed "M. NACHUS. HUIUS. DOMUS. A.D. MDXXX," and on another may be traced "RICARD."

The chapter house has two massive pillars, which supported the roof, and some fragments of arches from which sprung the groinings. Several stone coffins have been found under the floor, but none of them with inscriptions. There has also been found, about two feet above the level of the floor, in one of the arched passages, several square tiles, glazed and ornamented, and cemented together, which are supposed to have formed the bottom of a cistern.

The lavatory, at the south-east corner of the cloisters, was richly ornamented. In it was found a tombstone, without inscription, but sculptured with a trifoliated cross, and upon it a rudely-cut sword.

The abbot's house, projecting eastward from the extremity of the eastern range of buildings, lies shattered and desolate, so as to give little or no idea of what it was.

The refectory presents the remains of some pillars which supported the roof, and the library a formerly fine arch, now clothed with clustering ivy. Besides these, and the gateway house at the north-western entrance to the enclosure, which has a fine vaulted room,

paneled with carved black oak, nothing save some scattered fragments remain of the once magnificent Abbey of Kirkstall.

Kirkstall is now a suburb of Leeds, and factories, with the habitations of their operatives, are springing up in close proximity to the venerable ruins of the abbey. To meet the spiritual necessities of the new population it was suggested a year or two ago, that the church should be repaired and fitted up as a place of worship, and the idea was warmly taken up by some good people, possessed of more piety than æsthetic feeling or reverence for antiquity, who thought that by rebuilding the tower, repairing the walls, supplying a new roof, glazing the windows, and filling the interior with pulpit, reading-desk, and pews, it might be utilised for the purpose, and the necessity for building a new and costly church obviated. Happily, however, the storm of indignation which the proposal evoked, caused the project to be abandoned, never, it is hoped, to be revived.



PLAN OF KIRKSTALL ABBEY.

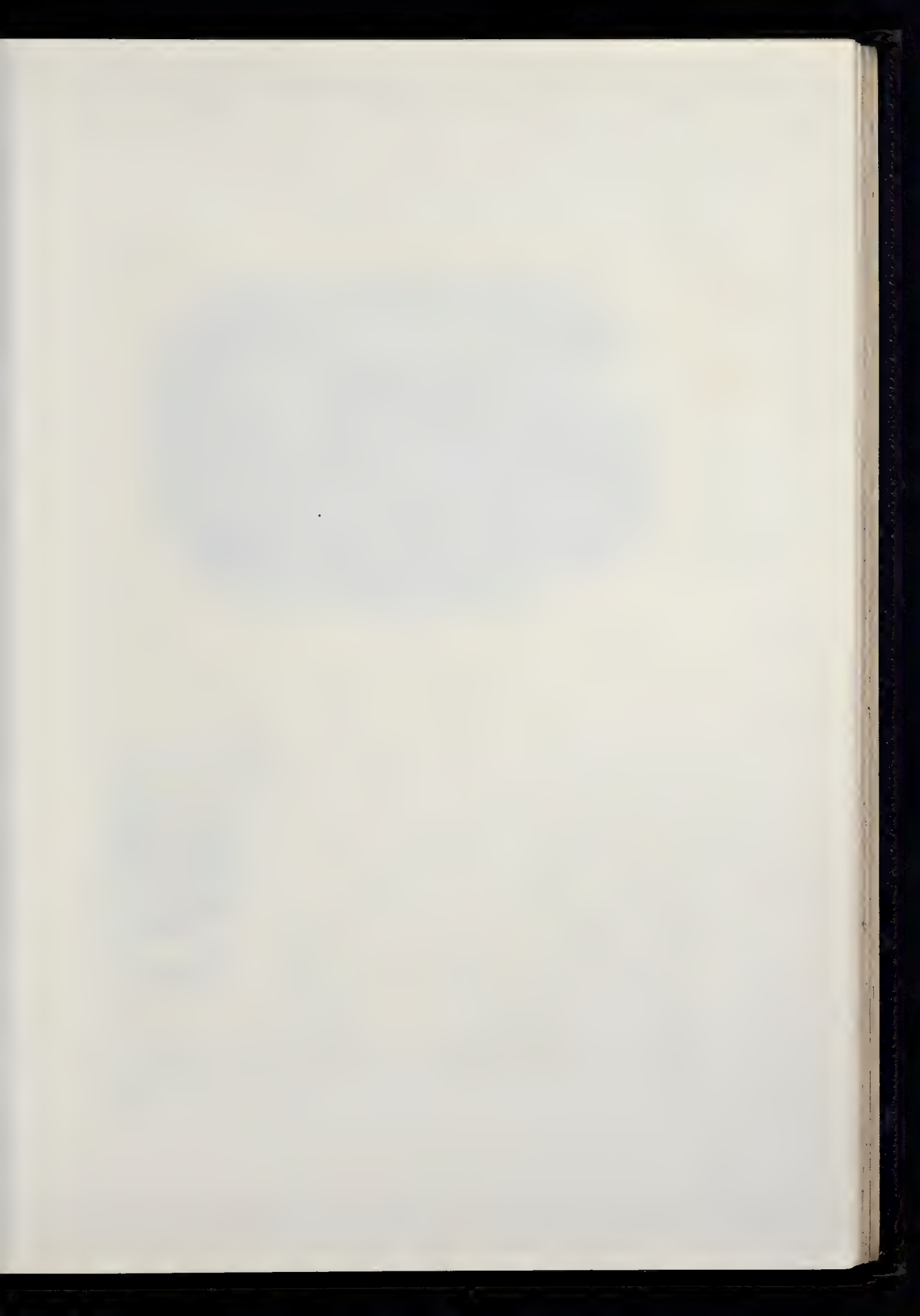
A. West Entrance.
B. Nave.
C. Choir.
D. Transept and Side Chapel.
E. Tower.
F. Abbot's Room.
G. Chapter House.

H. Study, or Novice's Room.
I. Refectory.
J. Passageway.
K. Abbot's House.
L. Abbot's Kitchen.

M. Great Kitchen.
N. Refectory for Strangers.
O. Dormitory.
P. Library.
Q. Cloister (enclosed).
R. Church.









LAST END, FROM ABBOT'S HOUSE

The Cistercian Abbey of Netley.



THE picturesque ruins of Netley, environed by natural scenery of exquisite beauty, is one of the best known of our abbey ruins, the annual resort of thousands of holiday makers, as well as of multitudes who visit them from motives of veneration for the past, and for the purpose of making note of their architectural features. Indeed the abbey is much better known now than it was when it flourished in all the vigour of monastic life. Like the modest violet, it concealed itself in a valley hidden in the recesses of a forest, amid lofty trees of patriarchal age, whose foliaged branches sheltered its walls from the tempest in winter and the fervent heat of the sun in summer, and at the same time screened its inmates from the outer world; the cries of the four-footed denizens of the forest, and the cheering songs of the birds overhead, being much more familiar to the ears of the brethren than the sounds of strange human voices. The monks seem not to have interfered with outer-world concerns, never seem to have had quarrels and lawsuits with their neighbours, nor ever to have produced an abbot who made his name known beyond the convent walls, or a single monk who distinguished himself in learning, literature, or science. Its domains appear never to have been trodden by the feet of armed foes, nor have its courts been subjected to the desolating ravages of fire, both conspicuous incidents in the annals of many religious houses, especially such as lay in the

way of foreign invaders; and, as Howitt says, "It seems to have slumbered on in a dream-like poetical quiet, through the days of its prosperity." Hence Netley has no history, excepting that of its foundation, dissolution, and after career as a ruin. If it kept a register of daily events, that register is lost; the names of not more than about half a dozen of its abbots are known, and nothing of their personal histories or characters; and it lay so secluded from the world, that the name of the abbey even is scarcely ever mentioned in the annals of other religious houses. It only once appears in the annals of Waverley, the mother Cistercian Abbey of England, where are recorded, seemingly with pride, the foundations and other details of subsequently founded houses of the same order, which she claimed as her children. Waverley Abbey was founded in 1128-9, Netley a hundred and ten years later.

The tract of country in which Netley lies is in the south-eastern portion of Hampshire, forming a sort of peninsula bounded on the north and south by the rivers Itchen and Hamble, and on the west was Southampton Water, the abbey being situated in close proximity to the beach of the latter, and about three miles south of Southampton, on the opposite side of the Itchen. About four miles to the north-east is the village of Bittern, the Clausentum of the Roman ages, where remains of the old defensive earthworks may still be seen. Netley Heath, where there are several tumuli, is supposed to have been the Roman burial-place, and in the neighbourhood coins and other relics of that people have been found. As Clausentum decayed, Hampton, more favourably situated at the outfall of the Itchen, grew into importance, but was frequently overrun and devastated by the Danes, who almost entirely destroyed it in 980. Afterwards it was called Southampton, to distinguish it from other Hamptons. Romancers tell us that here Gwydyr, a British king, defeated the Emperor Claudius, but that in a second battle one Ham went in disguise into Gwydyr's camp, and murdered him in his tent, thinking that he had thus ensured victory; but the king's brother, Aviragus, a bold and skilful soldier, assumed the command, and drove the Romans back to their ships. Ham, however, was too late, and fled into the woods for concealment, but was pursued, captured, and put to death. A town sprung up afterwards on the spot where he fell, and in memory of the event was called Ham's town, or Hamton, now Southampton.

The site of Netley appears to have belonged to King Edward the Confessor, as appears from the following extract from the *Domesday Book*:—"Latelie, in Manesbridge Hundred, held by Richard Puingiant, had been held of the Confessor by one Aylward, with right of alienation. In his day it was rated as 3 hides, and valued at 60s.; afterwards it was worth only 40s. In 1084 it was rated as 1 hide, and valued at 100s. It contained 5 ploughlands, one of them in demesne; 9 villeins, 2 bordmen with two ploughlands, a little church, 2 staves, 4 acres of meadow, and wood for 40 hogs."

Camden tells us of a British king called Nata, or Natan, king of a considerable portion of Hampshire, chiefly, if not entirely, on the western side of Southampton Water, which was called Natanleod, or Nazanleod—the place of Natan—and that he was defeated by the Saxon Cerdic, who added Natanleod to his conquests, thinking it possible that Netley may be a survival of the name of this British king. But under the Romans the site of Netley was termed *Lætus Locis*—pleasant place, which was modified by the Saxons into Letley, the suffix signifying pasture—pleasant pasture or meadow—and the probability is that Netley is nothing more than a corruption of Letley. It was also called Edwardstow, *i.e.* Edward's place. In Henry the Third's charter it is referred to as Letley, and "*Ecclesie Sancte Mariæ de Loco Sancti Edwardi*." The abbey is sometimes said to have been dedicated to St. Mary and St. Edward, but this seems to be an error; the church is only spoken of in Henry's charter as that of St. Mary, in the place of St. Edward. It is not improbable that King Edward may have established a small religious house of some kind here, and that the subsequent abbey was a renewal of the foundation on an enlarged basis, in the same way as King Henry refounded the same monarch's abbey of Westminster.

Respecting the founder of Netley Abbey there exists some doubt. Dugdale and Tanner say that it was established by King Henry III.; Leland and Godwin, by Peter de la Roche, Bishop of Winchester. The former base their opinion on a passage which occurs in the charter of confirmation granted by the king in 1251, viz:—"Ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ de loco Sancti Edwardi, quam nos fundavimus in Suthamplescir;" but that was a very common form of expression made use of by eminent early benefactors, who were frequently termed "secondary founders." The truth appears to be that the bishop had contemplated the establishment of this abbey; but dying before he could carry out his project, he bequeathed funds for the purpose, in trust to his executors, and that King Henry, out of affection for his favourite saint, King Edward, took it in hand and amply endowed the bishop's foundation. This view is confirmed by an entry in the *Annales de Waverley*, under the date of 1239,—“Peter de Rupibus, Wintonensis Episcopus, habuit in proposito adhuc vivens fundare duas abbaties ordinis Cisterciensis; sed morte præventus propositum suam nequaquam mancipavit effectui. Veruntamen ante mortem suam assignavit non modicam quantitatem pecuniæ, quæ ad illarum fundationem et alia necessaria juxta considerationem rationis posset sufficere. Denique post mortem ipsius; viz. hoc anno procurantibus ejusdem Episcopi executoribus fundate sunt, una in Anglia, et vocati est locus Sancti Ædwardi, venit que conventus ibi primum de Bello Loco Regis in die Sancti Jacobi Apostoli; altera in partibus transmarinis quæ Claritas Dei nominatur.” From this, which was written immediately after the death of the bishop, it is clear that he left money in the hands of his executors for the foundation of the abbey “in the place of Saint Edward,” and that the part which the king took in the establishment was a further endowment of lands, and the confirmation of Bishop Peter's bequest. The other abbey was that of “Clarté Dieu, in Indre et Loire, France.”

Peter de la Roche, or de Rupibus, was a native of Poitiers, and was born in the latter half of the twelfth century. In early life he was a soldier of fortune and served in Palestine under Richard Cœur de Lion, by whom he was knighted for bravery. After the crusade he appears to have come to England, probably during the reign of his patron Richard, and to have entered the church. After the death of that king he exercised great influence over his successor, John, counselled him in the adoption of oppressive and arbitrary measures, and is said to have been the suggestor of the obnoxious acts which drove the barons to take up arms, and compel the signature of Magna Charta. In 1214 he had been constituted Chief Justice of England, whilst several other foreigners were appointed to high offices in the state, which, combined with his well-known evil counsel to the king, rendered him very unpopular with the people. Nevertheless he maintained his position, and on the death of John was appointed guardian of the boy-king, Henry III., and Regent of the Kingdom, from which period, for ten years, his biography is a history of the kingdom. The young king became much attached to his instructor and minister, and was guided in all things by his advice; but his intrigues and unconstitutional measures entailed on him the hatred of the people, which became at length so intensified, that in 1227 he went into voluntary exile, and made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, whence he returned in 1231. The years 1234—6 he spent in Rome, and he died in 1238. He was presented, at the instance of the king, to the Bishopric of Winchester in 1204, was consecrated at Rome, and held the see thirty-five years. Although a statesman of evil repute, he appears to have been imbued with a certain description of piety, and to have been an opponent of the encroachments of the Papacy over the monarchs of Christendom. Godwin says that “He with two other bishops animated King John to withstand the Pope's excommunication, but they were all fain to cry *peccavi* at last.” He was zealous in the extension of monachism: the same writer adds, “Now of the religious houses he built, and, being built, enriched with reuenewes for their maintenance, these be the names: Hales, of the order of Premonstratenses; Tickford, of the same order; Saleburne, of the order of St. Augustine, viz: Canons Regular; and a goodly hospitall at Portsmouth. Again, he

renewed the Church of St. Thomas the Martyr, in the Holy Land, from a very unfit place into a more convenient one." He founded also a Dominican convent at Winchester, and, according to Weaver and Speed, the Priory of Edwardstow, Suffolk. He bequeathed his body to be buried at Winchester, and his heart in the Cistercian Abbey of Waverley.

We may presume that the bishop indicated the spot—the place of St. Edward—where he wished his abbey to be built, and a more suitable locality for a Cistercian abbey could not be desired. Although in near proximity to the throng and bustle of the even then important town of Southampton, it lay as secluded as if it were far away from "the busy haunts of men." The district was thickly covered with umbrageous trees, and in the midst was a lovely little valley, sloping down gently to the beach, with rising grounds behind serving for shelter and shade. Gray the poet writes, "There may be richer and greater houses of religion, but



INTERIOR VIEW OF THE RUINS OF THE ABBEY OF WEAVER.

the abbot is content with his situation. See there at the top of that hanging meadow, under the shade of those old trees that bend into a half circle. About it he is walking slowly (goodman), and bidding his beads for the souls of his benefactors, interred in the venerable pile that lies beneath him. Beyond it (the meadow still descending) nods a thicket of oaks, that mask the building, and have excluded a view too garish and luxuriant for a holy eye; only on either hand they leave an opening to the blue glittering sea. Did you not observe how, as that white sail shot by and was lost, he turned and crossed himself, to drive the tempter from him, that had thrown that distraction in his way?"

The spot was already looked upon as sacred ground, hallowed as it was by its connection with the pious Edward, who was more fitted for the cloister than the throne. Whether, as tradition reports, a small religious establishment, the foundation of the Confessor, stood here, cannot be asserted with certainty; but it seems not improbable, from the circumstance of its obtaining the emphatic designation of Edwardstow—the place of St. Edward—and the mention of a church in *Domesday Book*. We may assume that the bishop's executors lost no time in carrying out the instructions of the testator, and that the walls of the church and the habitations of the monks would soon begin to appear in the depths of the forest; and

as doubtless sufficient funds were left for the purpose, the buildings were completed without any extraneous aid. When King Henry first took the matter in hand we know not, but it would be at an early period, probably even from the laying of the foundation stone. He would be prompted thereto by two motives—the first his veneration for St. Edward, and the second his affection for the instructor of his youth, and esteem for the sage counsellor of his early manhood as king. He seems to have granted a charter immediately on the completion of the abbey, endowing it with lands, and confirming the bishop's bequest, but this is not known to exist, nor have we any record of its tenor, excepting that, under the date of 1240, he granted to the "*Domus Sancti Edwardi*" the manors of Letteley, Farley, Mildehall (Suffolk), Henset, and La Rigge. In 1250 he granted a charter for a market at Hound and a fair at Wellow, with free warren over all the demesnes of the abbey, and the following



INTERIOR VIEW OF THE RUINS.

year one for a weekly market at Wellow. Henry continued to be the steady patron of the abbey to the end of his life. In 1251 he made a grant of a general charter of confirmation (probably his sixth charter), which runs as follows:—

"*Carta Regis Henrici tertii Donatorum concessiones, recitans et confirmans.*

"*Henricus, Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, Dux Normanniæ, et Comes Andegariæ, Archiepiscopus &c. salutem.*

"*Sciatis nos pro salute animæ nostræ et animarum antecessorum et successorum nostrum, concessisse et hoc carta nostra confirmasse Deo et Ecclesiæ Sancte Marie de loco Sancti Edwardi, quam nos fundavimus in Suthamptescir, et Abbati et Monachis ibidem, Deo serventibus et servituris ipsum locum in quo Abbatia eorum sita est, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et cum omnibus terris subscriptis, videlicet, de Letteleye, de Hune, de Welewe, de Totinton, de Gumelculne, de Nordley, de Deverell-Kingston, de Waddon, de Ayeley, de Lacton, cum omnibus pertinentiis earum, et cum redditibus de Cherleton, de Suthampton, et de Suthwerk, cum pertinentiis, et C. acras terræ in manerio de Schire, cum advocacione Ecclesiæ ejusdem manerii. Concessimus eciam eisdem monachis, et confirmavimus omnes rationabiles donationes terrarum, hominum et elemosinarum eis vel in præsentem à nobis collatus, vel in futuro à*

Regibus, vel ex aliorum liberalitate conferendas, tam in Ecclesiis quam in rebus et possessionibus mundanis, sicut cartæ donatorum quas inde habent ratiozabiliter testantur. Quare volumus, &c. Datum per manum nostram apud Westmonsterium, septimo die Martii, anno regni nostri tricesimo quinto."

The abbey was so far completed as to be ready for the reception of its inmates by the year 1240, about which time it was peopled by a colony of monks from the abbey of Beaulieu, or Bello-Loce (so called from the picturesque beauty of its situation), which had been founded in the year 1204, by King John, in consequence, as the monkish legends tell us, of a supernatural visitation. John had been a severe and tyrannical oppressor of the Cistercians, plundering them without mercy, and otherwise ill-treating them. One day he summoned a meeting of the abbots of the order, and as they did not shew a ready compliance with his wishes, he gave directions that they should be trodden to death by horses; but on the following night he dreamed that he was standing at the bar, on the Day of Judgment, and that standing by the Judge were a company of Cistercian Abbots, with thongs and rods in their hands, who were commanded to scourge him for his tyranny to their order whilst on earth, which they did so effectually, that when he awoke his entire body was smarting and aching from the infliction. His superstition was awakened by this, which he deemed a prevision of what awaited him, unless he made reparation, and he implored pardon of the monks, adding that God had been very merciful to him in thus revealing what would be the result of his impious conduct if persisted in. Further, he established this abbey for the Cistercians, in the precincts of the New Forest, amply endowed it, and granted to the abbot and monks a charter of privileges and immunities, to which was afterwards added the right of sanctuary.

The following is a list of the chief benefactors, subsequent to the primary endowment by King Henry:—

Roger de Clere, or Clare, a member of the Clare family who held the Earldoms of Hertford, Gloucester, and Pembroke, and descended from Geoffrey, the natural son of Richard I., Duke of Normandy, whose grandson, Richard Fitz Gilbert, afterwards called Richard de Tonbridge, accompanied his kinsman, Duke William, to England, and had a grant of thirty-six lordships in Surrey, besides others in counties Essex, Cambridge, Wilts, Devon, and Suffolk, whose grandson, Walter, was the founder of Tintern Abbey. This Roger, in 1243, made a grant from the family domains in Surrey, of all the tilled and pasture land lying between the abbey manor of Gumesulre (Gomshall) and the hayrew de Schyre (the hedgerow of Shere), and the advowson of the church of Schyre, which was confirmed in 1250, by John de Warren (Plantagenet), Earl of Surrey, son and heir of William de Warren, Earl of Warren and Surrey. This, however, seems to have been more of the nature of a sale than a gift, as De Clare received in return a present of three hundred marks, and the earl, for the deed of confirmation, pocketed twenty more.

Edmund Plantagenet, nephew of Henry III., and son of Richard, Earl of Poitou and Cornwall, who was elected King of the Romans in 1256, was a benefactor, but his grants are not recorded. He succeeded to the Earldom of Cornwall, married Margaret, daughter of Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, but having no issue, the Earldom became extinct at his death. In most histories of the abbey this benefactor is spoken of as "Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, second son of the founder;" but the second son of Henry was Edmund, created Earl of Chester in 1253, which was transferred to his brother Edward, afterwards King Edward I., and he, in exchange, created, in 1264, Earl of Lancaster. Possibly both of them may have been benefactors, which may have given rise to the confusion of title and affinity to the king.

Robert de Ver, another benefactor, would probably be Robert, sixth Earl of Oxford and seventh Lord Great Chamberlain, who married Margaret, daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, and died *s.p.* in 1331; or it may have been his father, Robert, who died in 1296.

Walter de Burgh made a grant of lands in Lincolnshire, who would most likely be a

member of the family of De Burgh, Barons Burgh or Borough, of Gainsborough, descended from a younger son of Hubert de Burgh, the famous Earl of Kent *temp.* John and Henry III., and remotely descended from the Emperor Charlemagne. The lands he gave were held by him of the king *in capite*, by the tenure of presenting him with a head-piece lined with fine linen, and a pair of gilt spurs.

Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester 1502—28, is supposed to have been one of the latest benefactors. He was a prominent man in church and state *temp.* Henry VII. and VIII., who promoted the elevation of Wolsey, but afterwards retired from the court in disgust at witnessing the growing pomp and arrogance of that ambitious prelate, and died in 1528.

In addition to his former donations, King Henry, in 1270, at the close of his reign, made a grant to the abbey of a tun of prisage wine annually, for sacramental purposes, to be delivered "per manus captorum vinorum Regis."

King Richard II. granted an ample charter of confirmation of lands, liberties, and exemptions, "held by the Abbot of St. Edwardstowe." At this time only one charter of King Henry could be found, that of 1240, the others having disappeared altogether.

King Henry IV., in the beginning of the fifteenth century, granted a charter to the Abbey "Locii S. Edwardii alias Lettele," in full confirmation of all their manors, lands, and liberties. At this time one of the abbey's manors—that of Townhill—was held by the service of keeping the bridge of Mansbridge in repair. Another estate mentioned consists of three ploughlands of a hundred acres each, in the New Forest, with certain forestal privileges.

King Edward IV., at the commencement of his reign, 1461, also granted a charter of confirmation, in which reference is made to six charters of King Henry III., granted by him "to the Abbot of Saint Edwardstow or Letley, de Loci S. Edwardi, alias de Lettelegh."

The materials for a history of Netley are exceedingly scanty. No doubt a register of occurrences was kept, but this has been lost, and nothing of sufficient importance transpired to be deemed worthy of notice by other annalists. The name even of the first abbot, who would doubtless be one of the monks of Beaulieu, who migrated hither, is not known, and those of but few of his successors have come down to us, with merely approximative dates. The only known names of the abbots are the following:—

ROBERT occurs in 1235.

WALTER occurs 1290.

HENRY DE INGLESHAM, elected 1371.

JOHN STELHARD occurs in 1374.

PHILIP DE CORNHAMPTON, elected 1387.

JOHN DE GLOUCESTER occurs *post* 1396.

RICHARD DE MIDDLETONE occurs 1400.

THOMAS STEVENS occurs 1527, when (by proxy) he signed in favour of the divorce of Henry VIII. and Catharine of Aragon, and probably it was he who surrendered the abbey in 1536.

Abbots of Leteley were summoned to the parliaments of 1295, 1296, 1300, and 1302.

Almost the only known incident of the transactions of the abbey is an entry in the Corporation Book of Southampton,—"*£2 3s. 4d.* paid to the Abbot of Netteley for a grove of wood, bought by the Maire, for to make piles and pegges by the sea-syde." This was for fortifying the coast against French marauders, whose incursions were, at that time, a constant source of annoyance to the Southampton burghers.

Not a single abbot or monk of the abbey appears to have been canonized for piety, nor is there one whose name is remembered for literary work; indeed they do not appear to have studied much beyond their mass-books, for Leland, when he visited the abbey, found only one solitary book in the library, which was a copy of the *Rhetorica Ciceronis*.

The abbey was insignificant in size and importance, as compared with the magnificent establishments of St. Albans, Glastonbury, Fountains, etc., consisting of but an abbot and twelve monks. It made no mark in the monastic history of England, but slumbered on,

during the three hundred years of its existence, in its woodland valley, scarcely known to the outer world.

At length the eighth Henry, animated by avarice and a pique against the then head of the Church of Christ, determined upon the destruction of the monasteries. Professedly his object was to lop off the corrupt and decayed branches, and restore the church to its pristine health and vigour; but as Bishop Fisher said, when the question was in agitation, "It is not the *good* but the *goods* of the church which men are looking after." The bishop did not live to see the fulfilment of his assertion, for the king took care to have his head chopped off before he commenced the spoliation.

The revenue of Netley was estimated as follows:—

	£	s	d.
Wellow: Assized rents	0	8	3½
" Rents of customary tenants	8	14	2
" Manor-farm and tithes	5	6	0
" Court-dues	0	1	6
" Rectory-farm	3	0	0
Totton: Assized rents	0	6	1
" Rents of customary tenants	3	17	8
" Court-dues and pannage	0	2	5
Southampton: Tenements	3	0	0
Netley: Abbey-close, valued at	1	0	0
" Assized rents	7	11	3
" Grange and farm	7	9	4
" Water-mill	1	0	0
Hound: Assized rents	1	1	1
" Windmill	2	0	0
" Court-dues	1	1	1
Sholing: Farm-rents	2	14	
Shamelhurst: Assized rents	8	19	
" Manor-farm	8	0	
" Court-dues	0	11	8
	£71	2	1

Which, with other sources of income, brought up the gross revenue to £160 2s. 9½d., from which was deducted the expenditure in alms, fees, etc., amounting to £59 10s. 1½d., leaving the net annual balance of £100 12s. 8d. for the maintenance of the house. Being thus one of the lesser monasteries, with an income of less than £200 per annum, it fell under the first confiscation act of 1536, and was, most probably, surrendered by Thomas Stevens, who would presumably be awarded a pension, partly as a reward for his signature on the divorce question.

"Fall'n pile! I ask not what has been thy fate;
 But when the winds slow wafted from the main,
 Through each rent arch, like spirits that complain,
 Come hollow to my ear, I meditate
 On this world's passing pageant, and the lot
 Of those who once majestic in their prime
 Stood smiling at decay, till bowed by time
 Or injury, their early boast forgot,
 They may have fall'n like thee! Pale and forlorn,
 Their brow, besprent with thin hairs, white as snow,
 They lift, still unsubdued, as they would scorn
 This short lived scene of vanity and woe;
 Whilst on their sad looks smilingly they bear
 The trace of creeping age and the pale hue of care"

Netley Abbey, by W. L. Bowler.

The site of the abbey was granted in 1537 to Sir William Paulet, a favourite of King Henry, descended from Hercules, Lord of Tournou, in Picardy, who came to England with Geoffrey Plantagenet, Earl of Anjou, third son of King Henry II. Fuller says of him:—

"Tis said that coming to court upon trust, he prospered more than any other subject since the Conquest; living in the harvest of estates, viz: the dissolution of the abbeys. He was servant to Henry VII., and for thirty years Treasurer to Henry VIII., Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth." In 1539 he was created Baron St. John of Basing, in 1549 Earl of Wiltshire, and in 1551 Marquis of Winchester. He was the builder of the magnificent mansion, Basing House, which underwent the memorable siege and sack during the Civil War, and died in 1572, at the age of ninety-seven, having lived to see one hundred and three descendants sprung from his loins.



ARCHES IN SOUTH TRANSEPT.

Netley does not appear to have remained long in the hands of the Paulets, but passed, probably by purchase, to the Seymours, and would seem to have been held by the Protector, Edward, Earl of Hertford and Duke of Somerset, who was beheaded in 1552, *temp.* Edward VI., when his titles were forfeited and his lands confiscated; but Elizabeth, on her accession, restored Netley and other possessions to his son Edward, and created him Baron Beauchamp and Earl of Hertford. He made Netley one of his residences, living in a castellated fort on the shore, which had been erected by Henry VIII. for the defence of the coast, and was called Netley Castle, where Queen Elizabeth paid him a visit in 1560. There is a tradition that he made the chancel of the church into a private chapel for Divine Service, whilst he converted the nave into a tennis court, stabled his horses in the refectory, and made the chapter house into a kitchen. He afterwards incurred the displeasure of the queen by a clandestine marriage with the Lady Catherine Grey, for which he was subjected to a fine of

£15,000, and imprisoned nine years in the Tower. He died in 1621, and was succeeded by his grandson, William, who, like his grandfather, incurred the displeasure of the monarch (James I.) by marrying a member of the royal race—the Lady Arabella Stuart, for which he also was confined to the Tower, but effected his escape to France. In 1640 he was created Marquis of Hertford, adhered to Charles I. during the Civil War, and at the Restoration was by Special Act of Parliament restored to the family ducal title of Somerset. Francis, Lord Seymour, his brother, appears to have resided at Netley, as there his son Charles, who succeeded him as second Baron Seymour of Trowbridge, was born, and was baptized in Netley Church Chancel, whose son, Francis, third Baron Trowbridge, succeeded as fifth Duke of Somerset.

In 1700 Netley was held by Sir Berkeley Lucy, third and last baronet, descended from Sir Thomas Lucy, Knight, of Charlecote, Shakespeare's "Justice Shallow," whose son, Sir Thomas, Knight, had married, secondly, Constance, daughter and heiress of Sir Richard Kingsmill, of Highclere, Hampshire, from whom, possibly, Netley may have been inherited. He it was who sold the abbey, as old materials, to Taylor of Southampton (*q.v. infra*).

The next possessor of the abbey appears to have been Theophilus, ninth Earl of Huntingdon, (not Marquis, as he is frequently styled in Guide Books,) who resided here with his countess, the famous Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, founder of a sect of Calvinistic Methodists, and the college at Trevecca. Afterwards it became the property of Mr. H. Clift, who sold it to a Mr. Dummer, from whom it passed, by bequest, to Mr. W. Chamberlayne, by whose family it is still held.

The abbey buildings were arranged on the usual Cistercian plan, with the church on the north, and the business offices and residential quarters on the south. The enclosure was environed by a moat, and was entered by a large gate on the south from the beach, which opened upon the quadrangle. Beyond the moat on the east were two fishponds, and on the south one of sea-water, with sluice gates, to serve as a reservoir for salt-water fish.

The church was cruciform, with nave, chancel, and transepts. South of the nave was the quadrangle or fountain court, with cloisters and dormitories. South of the chancel, and extending considerably beyond it, was the garden court, with the abbot's house at the north-eastern corner. Between the two quadrangles were two ranges of continuous buildings, extending southward from the transept, the two blocks separated by a vaulted passage leading from the fountain court to the garden. The northern block consisted of the sacristy, the confessional, the chapter house, and probably the library; the southern block contained the refectory, the buttery, the kitchen, and perhaps other domestic offices. Westward of the quadrangle, and northward of the church, are ruins, the former probably those of the hospitium and elymosynarium, and the latter of the infirmary, which was always placed apart and at a distance from the residential buildings.

The church, or chapel as it was usually called, was cruciform, in the Early English style of Gothic then prevalent, an elegant but not highly ornamented structure. It was two hundred feet in length by sixty in breadth, and the transept was one hundred and twenty in length. There were nave, chancel, and transept aisles, with pillars and arches supporting the clerestory, without the intervention of a triforium, with staircases of ascent on each side of the great eastern window. There is no indication of a central tower, but it is probable that there was one, and that when it fell it crushed the north transept into the complete ruin in which it lies. The windows were of two lights, with central shaft, and circular foliated light above. The great windows were at the eastern and western ends and in the transepts, the latter of three lancet lights. The side windows were double and triple lancets, the former with one, the latter with two trefoil heads. The great western door was a recessed arch flanked by buttresses, with corner buttresses as well, and double lancet windows between. The Lady Chapel is supposed to have been the eastern aisle of the south transept, which is the most

beautiful and highly finished part of the church. In the same transept were steps leading into a mortuary chapel, entered by a beautiful canopied niche in the south wall. It had an altar which stood on a pavement of encaustic tiles, and was elevated above the floor of the chapel. The roof of the church was groined, and appears to have been ornamented with heraldic sculptures, one of which was the arms of Edward the Confessor, since found amongst the debris. The south transept was the burial-place of benefactors and others, whose sepulchres were in arched recesses, where stones emblazoned with arms have been found.

The sacristy and confessional formed one long building, separated by an inner wall; the former was a low vaulted room, almost like a crypt, with a door communicating with the south transept of the church. Round the walls were arched recesses, in which were deposited the sacred vessels, service-books, vestments, money, and other valuables. These were in the charge of the sacristan, who was thus an important and responsible officer, and the more so as he had to receive and account for all oblations, legacies, donations, rents, tithes, etc. The confessional was entered by a door from the sacristy, and had another communicating with the chapter, so that, if a penitent required flagellation, he might be at once taken before the brethren, and then and there subjected to the wholesome punishment.

The chapter house, which adjoined the above building, was thirty-six feet square, and richly decorated with clustered columns, elegantly proportioned arches, and groined roof. There were three arches on each side, making twelve in all, with seats in them for the twelve monks; the centre arch on the western side had a doorway forming the entrance from the quadrangle. It was lighted on the eastern side by three windows, one in each arch, with more elaborate and ornamental tracery than that of the windows of the other buildings.

The south wall abutted on the passage, which separated the offices of a spiritual and intellectual character from those devoted to the more sensual purposes of eating and drinking. The library would probably be over the sacristy or confessional.

Beyond the passage was the monks' parlour, with a fireplace, where they assembled for conversation in winter or inclement weather. Adjoining was the refectory, forty-five feet in length and twenty-four in width, one of the largest rooms in the abbey. It was lighted by a large eastern window, and at the western end was a large arch, now walled up, but what purpose it served is not known.

The kitchen and buttery lay southward of and adjoining the refectory, extending eastward considerably beyond the other buildings. The former was forty-eight feet by eighteen, with a vaulted roof, and possessed great pretensions to architectural beauty. On one side is a large and curious fire-place, but seemingly of more modern construction, built probably after the Dissolution, when the abbey was occup'ed as a residence by its subsequent owners. The buttery was a much smaller room with two apertures, one in the eastern wall communicating with the kitchen, the other in the northern communicating with the refectory, made use of most probably for passing dishes of victuals from the kitchen to the dining-room. Beneath the kitchen were vaults for the storage of provisions, wine, beer, and fuel, and a subterranean passage extending to a field beyond the abbey close, which served perhaps as a sewer, the roof of which is now broken in at the outer extremity.

The abbot's house, which stood at the extreme east of the garden court, appears from the ruins to have been a large structure, but nothing is known of its plan or architecture. From a view taken in 1760, the ruins covered a much greater space than they do now. The fountain court, on the west, was so called from a fountain which occupied the centre of the quadrangle. On the eastern, western, and southern sides were cloisters and dormitories above, which were destroyed in the sixteenth century. On the eastern side were four doorways, communicating respectively with the church transept, the chapter house, the confessional, and the passage which led to the garden court.

The eastern court, or abbey garden, was planted with trees, and from what remains

appears to have had cloisters and dormitories on three of the sides. It had a postern communicating with the forest, supposed to have been used by the abbot and his private friends, who might thus come and go without the cognizance of the monks. The kitchen, although adjoining, was separated from it by a small court.

Of the guest house, the almonry, the infirmary, the library, the scriptorium, if there was one, which is doubtful, and other appendages of the abbey, we know nothing, as they have disappeared entirely, or lie as heaps of rubbish, and there are no records to tell us what or where they were.

It was usual at the dissolution of the abbeys to dismantle them, strip off the lead, take down the woodwork, and dispose of these materials; but this was not done in the case of



THE GUEST HOUSE.

Netley. It was converted into dwellings for some of the owners and their domestics, and in many places alterations have been made, and decayed parts patched up with brickwork; yet, if we may believe tradition, it has been subjected at various times to cruel treatment, as indeed is evident from the complete prostration of many portions, which are now mere heaps of rubbish, and which with a little attention, or indeed if left alone, would have been still standing more or less decayed under the action of atmospheric influence.

There are many tales current of the ravages wrought upon the venerable pile by the hand of man, and of the judgments which befel the sacrilegious despoilers. There are various versions of these legends, which have no doubt a basement of truth, but have been coloured by the narrators, according to the bias of their religious opinions. The earliest tradition dates from the reign of James I., when it is said that a person holding Puritanical notions, and viewing the church as a relic of a corrupt and superstitious faith, purposed pulling it down to the foundations, and that he even commenced operations, but had not proceeded far, when as he was standing in the church a mass of stone-work became detached and fell upon him, crushing him to death, and burying him at the same time; moreover that his body could not

be extricated, but lies there still, and for a long time the heap of stones was pointed out under which he lay.

About the year 1700 Sir Berkeley Lucy sold the church to one Taylor, a Southampton builder, to take it down and cart away the materials. The friends of Taylor implored him not to commit so sacrilegious an act, but he had made a good bargain, and obstinately persisted in going on with the work of demolition. He then had a dream that he was killed by a stone falling from the east window, and his brains scattered about the floor, but this did not deter him, he went on with the work, and the dream was repeated. Upon this he began to reflect, and consulted the father of Dr. Watts, who was a schoolmaster in Southampton, and his brother, Enoch Watts, who counselled him to desist, as this was assuredly



SOUTH TRANSEPT

a warning from Heaven, and if he went on with the work some disaster would befall him. Taylor, on receiving this advice, hesitated, but eventually the love of gain prompted him to proceed with his work. He blew up a portion of the building with gunpowder, and was hacking and hewing at the shattered walls, when a large stone fell and fractured his skull, but not mortally; but the surgeon, when probing the wound, penetrated the brain with his instrument, causing instant death.

The anonymous author of a blank-verse poem on "The Ruins of Netley Abbey," published in 1763, refers to this and other interesting matters relating to the abbey in the preface. He says:—"That the west end of the church might be converted into offices, is not improbable, as there now remain several ovens pretty entire; but whether the kitchen was on that spot seems rather a dubious point, as on the south side of the ruin there is a room of great size, and arched in the side of which there is a very large chimney, that could, I think, be applied to no other use; and that so large a one was highly necessary is certain from an account two very old men, now alive, give of a family that once inhabited it, which family was Lord Hertford's, and consisted of a hundred and twenty persons: they

baked, and for their private use expended, a load of wheat every week, and however extraordinary this may seem, they were men of undoubted veracity, and their fathers were day labourers there in Lord Hertford's time.

"The church was blown up with a view of the materials being disposed of. A man whose name was Taylor bought them, and sold them again to build St. Mary's Church, which stands on the other side of the water, about half a mile from the shore, and about a mile distant from the town of Southampton. Taylor afterwards endeavouring to pull down the roof, walls, etc., that remained, was crushed to death by part of the west wall."

He adds also another instance of retributive Providence:—"A man of Downton, in Wiltshire (his name I cannot learn), bought the lead with which the abbey was covered, but reaped very little advantage from his purchase, he being destroyed by falling into the vessel where they were melting it. The common people idly imagine it was a judgment upon them, and tell a long story of a dream Taylor had the night before, warning him of it; but such nonsense as that is from the present purpose, and at no time indeed is it worth relating. Thus I have cleared up a mistake under which many people lay, who fancied it was time only that had decayed this noble edifice."

Another legend informs us that a person was told in a dream that if he dug in a certain place in the sacristy he would find a rich reward for his labour. In compliance with the direction, he made an excavation in secret, and found a treasure chest of immense value, which he conveyed to his home. He was not able, however, to keep the secret to himself, and could not help boasting of his newly-acquired riches, and it came to the ears of the Lord of the Manor, who compelled him to give it all up.

Horace Walpole, in a letter to Bentley, about the middle of the eighteenth century, thus describes the ruins as he saw them:—"The ruins are vast, and retain fragments of a beautifully fretted roof, pendant in the air, with all variety of Gothic pattern windows, wrapped round and round with ivy. Many trees are sprouted up among the walls, and only want to be increased with cypresses. A hill rises above the valley, encircled with wood. The fort, in which we would build a tower for habitation, remains, with two small platforms. The little castle is buried from the abbey in a wood, in the very centre, on the edge of the hill. On each side breaks in the view of the Southampton sea, deep blue, glittering with silver and vessels, on one side terminated by Southampton, on the other by Calshot Castle and the Isle of Wight, rising above the opposite hills. In short they are not the ruins of Netley, but of Paradise. Oh, the purple abbots! what a spot had they chose to slumber in! The scene is so beautifully tranquil, yet so lively, that they seem only to have retired *into* the world."

Grose, in his *Antiquities of England*, gives three views of the ruins as they appeared in 1774.—1. A general view taken from the south-east, shewing the range of offices and domestic apartments, the abbot's house with walls and windows, and the wall of the garden-court, but almost altogether destitute of trees. 2. The east end of the church, shewing the tracery of the circular light of the great window. 3. The interior of the abbot's kitchen, as it is termed, with the groining of the roof.

Gray, the churchyard poet, visited Netley ten years later, and describes it in a letter to the Rev. James Brown:—"My ferryman (for one passes over a little arm of the sea, about half a mile,) assured me that he would not go near it (Netley Abbey) in the night time for all the world, though he knew much money had been found there. The sun was all too glaring and too full of gauds for such a scene, which ought to be visited only in the dusk of the evening. It stands in a quiet little valley, which gradually rises behind the ruins into a half circle, crowned with thick wood. Before it, on a descent, is a thicket of oaks, that serves to veil it from broad day and from profane eyes, only leaving a peep on both sides, where the sea appears glittering through the shade, and vessels with their white sails that glide across and are lost again. Concealed behind the thicket stands a little castle (also in ruins), imme-

diately on the shore, that commands a view over an expanse of sea, clear and smooth as glass (when I saw it), with Southampton and several villages, three miles off, to the right, Calshot Castle, at seven miles distant, and the highlands of the Isle of Wight to the left, and in front the deep shades of the New Forest distinctly seen, because the water is not more than three miles over. The abbey was never large; the shell of the church is almost entire, but the pillars of the aisles are gone, and the roof has tumbled in; yet some little of it is left in the transept, where the ivy has forced its way through, and hangs flaunting down among the fretted ornaments and escutcheons of the benefactors. Much of the lodgings and offices are also standing, but all is overgrown with trees and bushes, and mantled here and there with ivy, that mounts over the battlements."

Gilpin, who paid a visit to Netley, describes the ruins in more detail in his *Observations on the Western Parts of England, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty*, 1798. He gives a view of the abbey from the east, with what appears like the lower part of a square tower at the intersection of the church. He writes:—"At Southampton we took boat to see the ruins of Netley Abbey, which lie about three miles below on the bay. As we approached, nothing could be seen from the water: the bank is high and woody, and screens everything beyond it. Having landed, and walked up the meadows about a quarter of a mile, we entered a circular valley, which seems to be a mile in circumference, and is screened with wood on every side (but I believe much of the wood is now cut down), except that which opens to a part of the river, which has probably once been wooded also. In a dip near the centre of the valley stands Netley Abbey. As you approach it, you see buildings only of the most ordinary species—gable ends and square walls, without any ornaments except a few heavy buttresses. You enter a large square, formerly known by the name of the Fountain Court. The side on which you enter seems to have been chambered and divided into several offices. Such also was the left side of the court, where the bakery and ovens may still be traced. But in general, whatever the rooms may have been which occupied these two sides, the traces of them are very obscure. On the third side, opposite to the entrance, the court is bounded by the south wall of the great church; and along the fourth side range different apartments, which are the most perfect of any that remain in this whole mass of ruin.

"The first you enter seems to have been the dining-hall. It is twenty-five paces long and nine broad, and has been vaulted and chambered above. Adjoining it, on the right, are the pantry and kitchen. You still see, in the former, the aperture, or buttery-hatch, through which victuals were conveyed to the hall. The kitchen of Netley Abbey is inferior to that of Glastonbury, but is a spacious and lofty vaulted room, and, what is peculiar, from one side of it leads a subterraneous passage to the river, which some imagine to have been a common sewer, but it is too ample, I should suppose, to have been intended for that purpose. At the other end of the dining-hall you pass through a small vaulted room into the chapter house, which is ten paces square. This room is beautifully proportioned, and adorned on each side by three arches, which, uniting at the top in ribs, support a vaulted roof. To this adjoin three smaller rooms, from whence there is an entrance to the great church by the cross aisle.

"The great church has been a very elegant piece of Gothic architecture, and is almost the only part of the whole ruin which is picturesque. All traces of the pillars and aisles are lost, but the walls are entire, except half the cross aisle, which is gone. The east and west windows remain; the former has not yet lost all its ornaments, and both are very beautiful, without as well as within.....In that part of the cross aisle at Netley Abbey which remains, a small part of the stone roof is still left, and is a very curious specimen of Gothic antiquity. More of this roof might still have remained if the warnings of Heaven (as that renowned antiquarian—Brown Willis—informs us) had taken effect. From him we have an anecdote, which, he assures us, is founded on fact, of a carpenter who once trafficked with the owner

of Netley for this elegant roof, which he meant to pull down and convert into gain. As he retired to rest his slumbers were disturbed with frightful dreams. These having no effect, the next night visions appeared of venerable old men in monkish habits, with frowning faces and threatening hands. Still he pursued his wicked purpose. But the next night, he had scarce fallen asleep when a monstrous coping stone fell plump upon his head. He started with horror, and was hardly at length persuaded that it was a dream. All this having only a momentary effect, in the morning he went to work on the execution of his design. He had scarce mounted a ladder, when a coping-stone fell in earnest from the roof, and put him to instant death." (This is another and different version of the tradition of the judgment on Taylor, the Southampton builder.) "Others, however, have been found, notwithstanding this example, who have pursued the design, for a mere fragment of the roof only now remains.

"The present possessor pursues an opposite extreme. The whole body of the church is now so choked with ruin and overgrown with thickets and ivy-bushes, that the greatest part of the building is invisible. A degree of all these would no doubt be ornamental, but like other garments, when they are too profusely scattered, they offend. These ruins are as much obstructed on the outside as they are within. We walked round them, and could only find two places—the two end windows—where we could possibly take a view. Every other approach is excluded, except on the side we entered, which least deserves to be exposed. This part is so very ordinary that it raises a prejudice at first sight against the whole, and the ruins would be shewn to much more advantage if this side were blocked up with wood, and the approach made either by the east or west window of the church. Beyond the ruins are the remains of large stew-ponds, which were formerly appendages of the abbey."

In the forest depths of Central America ruined cities are found, originally the magnificent abodes of the civilized aborigines, who, with their civilization, religion, temples, and palaces, were exterminated by their Spanish conquerors, and which since then have been so overgrown by the luxuriant vegetation of tropical America, that they have lain concealed from observation, and it is only by chance that they are occasionally discovered, crumbling to dust under the action of the roots of trees and parasitic plants, which force their way through the interstices, and between the stones of the walls. The ruins of Netley present an example of the gradual process of destruction which those cities have undergone, and but for the hand of man, in thinning the forest, and clearing away the parasitic growth of ivy, would ere this have been almost as completely buried in a grave of vegetation as are the cities of the Aztecs. Howitt says, "There is a forest air about it still, the trees are wonderfully lofty and fine, and many of them have sprung up in the interior of the once fair building, whilst masses of luxuriant ivy clamber up the lofty walls, and depend in rich prodigality from their crumbling summits, adding a fuller grace to the scene. The visitor, seated on a fallen stone, still feels a forest silence around him, and the neighbourhood of the Southampton Water seems to complete the feeling of the monastic tranquillity which for ages brooded over the spot."

The best general view of the ruins is from the hill on the north, which rises almost from their base, whence a bird's-eye view is obtained of the exterior and interior of the abbey, as it lies on the declivity sloping down to the beach, with the trees growing out of the walls and from the debris covering the floor, and the ivy clustering on the walls and round the framework of the windows, whilst around it may be seen the picturesque groupings of trees; at the foot the shimmer of Southampton Water, with masses of foliage beyond, indicative of the New Forest, and in the distance, across the Solent, the fairy-land-like Isle of Wight rising in beauty out of the glittering silver sea. The abbey was at one time much more completely covered with ivy, but a great portion was destroyed by some French emigrés, who resided here during the French Revolution, and a great deal more was afterwards removed by Lady Holland, the then proprietress, under the impression that it would loosen the stones, and hasten the decay of the building.

The other most effective views are from the west, with the great window rising above the trees with picturesque effect, and from the east, with the great chancel window and the great pile of rubbish that was once the abbot's house. The view from the south is concealed to some extent by interposing trees, but originally, when the abbey was complete, without the brick repairs of the offices, and when the foreground was kept clear of trees, it must have presented a noble appearance from the water. The great entrance gateway was on this side, which presents indications of its having been built with a tower, which would give additional dignity to the aspect from this point of view.

Remains of the moat may still be seen, and portions of the wall of the enclosure, which was built in modern times. The fishponds on the east are exceedingly picturesque, bordered



WEST WINDOW.

with underwood and aquatic plants, and surrounded by flourishing oaks, the upper pond more so than the other, from the circumstance of the oak trees overhanging it, and mirroring themselves in the water. The western quadrangle, or Fountain Court, is still surrounded by walls, with ruined heaps on the western and southern sides, the remains doubtless of the cloisters and the dormitories above, amongst which is a mingling of modern brick-work, which was made use of for dividing the dormitory into smaller chambers for the accommodation of the domestics of the more recent proprietors. Within the enclosure are many fine well-grown trees, casting a delightful shade in the summer time, when on Mondays during that season many merry pic-nic parties resort hither from Southampton to dance, and romp, and flirt, in strange contrast to the scenes presented four or five hundred years ago, of long-robed monks, seated on the cloister seats, or strolling around the fountain, telling their beads, and repeating Aves and Paternosters. The eastern quadrangle, or abbey garden, also presents a clustering of trees, and is frequented by pleasure parties. It appears to have been formerly a regular well-tended garden, with flowers and fruit trees, and was used chiefly, probably, as the abbot's pleasure-ground, as his house stood at the north-eastern corner. On three sides are

the remains of a raised terrace, which is presumed to have formed the floor of surrounding cloisters. The windows of the chapter house, refectory, and other offices of the range of buildings, extending southward from the transept, look into this quadrangle.

Although the church has no aspiring tower,—a feature which gives so dignified an aspect to many another ruin,—it still is a picturesque object, and the only portion of the abbey that can lay claim to that characteristic. The shell is tolerably entire, the chancel and south transept approaching the nearest to their original perfection. The north transept has fallen to complete ruin, crushed down, possibly, by the fall of the tower. The walls of the south transept and the south walls of the nave and chancel are nearly perfect, whilst the north wall with its buttresses is more ruined; the east and west ends also remain, with their great windows, that of the former with its central shaft and the frame of its circular light complete, whilst both are lost from the latter, the outer frame only remaining: these windows were originally filled with stained glass. The vaulted aisles of the south transept are perfect, but in the nave there is only left the springing of the arches of the groined roof, which has disappeared with its heraldic sculptures. From the sides of the east window were stairs to the clerestory, which is still so complete that there is a practicable pathway half round the church. The south end of the transept is very fine; over two large arches is the clerestory arch, with two smaller windows than that beneath, and above, a triple lancet overgrown with ivy. Opening out of this transept is the mortuary chapel, with remains of the encaustic tiles, the piscina and the ambry, marking the position of the altar. The ivy, which in the last century was so ruthlessly torn down, is now recovering its luxuriance, and climbing up the walls and about the windows, and in various parts of the walls and floors trees have taken root and sprung up, adding a new feature of beauty. The fallen debris has recently, to some extent, been cleared away, rendering the interior aspect less interesting in a picturesque point of view, but better adapted for an architectural study of the remains.

The roof of the chapter house has fallen, but some of the clustered pillars and the gracefully shaped arches from which the ribs of groining sprung, remain. The refectory is in a tolerable state of preservation, as also is the adjoining buttery and the kitchen beyond, which is sometimes called the abbot's kitchen, evidently an error, as from its proximity to the monk's refectory it was intended to supply the victuals for their tables; and the abbot's kitchen would unquestionably form part of, or be near to, the abbot's house. The apartment is vaulted, and has a large, curiously-constructed fireplace in one of the arches. The subterranean passage still exists, but is broken in at the outer end. It has been explored, but no relics of any consequence have been discovered. The remaining apartments in the same range of buildings are all more or less ruined, but chiefly in respect to the roofs and upper stories, the walls of all of them being sufficiently perfect to show their sizes and proportions, and indicate the purposes for which they were used. The other buildings, such as the abbot's house, the cloisters of both quadrangles, etc., are mere heaps of rubbish; whilst some, such as the guest house, the infirmary, the wayfarers' chapel (if there were one), and other offices which were the usual appendages of Cistercian abbeys, have entirely disappeared.

"I had at last these shades, this well-known wood,
That skirts, with verdant slope, the barren strand.
Where Netley's ruins, bordering on the flood,
Forlorn in melancholy greatness stand.

How changed, alas! from that revered abode,
Graced by proud majesty in ancient days,
Where monks reclusé these sacred pavements trod,
And taught the unlettered world its Maker's praise.

Now sunk, deserted, and with weeds o'ergrown,
 Yon prostrate walls their harder fate bewail;
 Low on the ground their topmost spires are thrown,
 Once friendly marks to guide the wandering sail.

No more shall charity, with sparkling eyes,
 And smiles of welcome, wide unfold the door,
 Where pity, listening still to Nature's cries,
 Befriends the wretched, and relieves the poor.

No more these hoary wilds, these darkening groves,
 To vocal bands return the note of praise,
 Whose chiefs (as slow the long procession moves,)
 On the rear'd cross with adoration gaze.

Mute is the matin bell, whose early call
 Warn'd the grey fathers from their humble beds;
 No midnight taper gleams along the wall,
 Or, round the sculptur'd saint, its radiance sheds.

No martyr's shrine its high-wrought gold displays
 To bid the wandering zealot hither roam;
 No relic here the pilgrim's toil o'erpays,
 And cheers his footsteps to a distant home."

Keats.

A few, not many, relics of the abbey have been found among the debris. One of the most interesting was a fine old brass, richly chased, nineteen inches square, and weighing ten pounds. It had been found by some one who placed no value on antiquities of this description, and was afterwards discovered doing duty as the back of a fire-grate in a peasant's cottage. It represents a bare-headed knight and his lady, kneeling on a tessellated pavement, with hands uplifted in prayer. Labels issue from their mouths, inscribed in Latin, of which the following are translations:—The knight's: "This one thing I will ask of the Lord, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord."—(Psalm xxvii. 4.) The lady's: "My heart said unto me, Thy face will I seek."—(Psalm xxvii. 8.) On the background are flaming beacons, four times repeated, with a twining label attached to each of them, with the legend, "So have I cause;" and the interspaces are filled with scrollwork and thistles or pine-apples. The flaming beacon was the crest of the Comptons, as it still is of their descendants, the Marquises of Northampton. Sir William Compton, Knight, was a court favourite *temp.* Henry VII., who made him page to his son Henry, afterwards Henry VIII., and subsequently was appointed Constable of Sudeley and Gloucester Castles, 1510-11; Usher of the Black Rod, 1513; Chancellor of Ireland (performed by deputy), and Knight of the Body, 1513; and afterwards Bursifer Regis, or Keeper of the Privy Purse, and Ranger of Windsor Park. He married Werburga, daughter and heiress of Sir John Brereton, and relict of Sir Francis Cheney, and died in 1528, possessed of manors in twenty counties. It may be he and his wife who are here represented; or more probably his grandson, Henry, first Baron Compton, son of Peter Compton, who died *v.p.* He married Frances, daughter of Francis Hastings, second Earl of Huntingdon, and died 1589, leaving issue William, created Earl of Northampton, famous for his elopement with Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Spencer, Lord Mayor of London, called "Rich Spencer" on account of his wealth, the lady escaping from her father's house in a baker's basket. An engraving of the brass is given in the *Archæologia*, vol. xv., p. 302.

A brass medallion also has been found, with an "Ecce Homo" on one side and a "Mater doloroso" on the other.

The matrix of the abbey seal was discovered in a house in Old Bond Street, London, in 1797. It is circular in form, and rather larger than a shilling, with the device of a priest

praying to the Virgin Mary, and the legend,—“S. BEATE MARIE DE STOWE SCI. EDWARD.” It is supposed that the figure robed in priest's vestments represents King Edward the Confessor.

There are also two seals extant, pendant from a deed *temp.* Edward III. in the Harleian collection of manuscripts: one an abbot's seal, representing the full-length figure of an abbot, with his crozier in one hand and a book in the other, and the legend,—“S. ABBIS. LOCI SCI. EDWARDI.” The other, which is much mutilated, represents an abbot and four monks, two on each side, and fragments of the legend,—“..... COMMUNE ABB..... EDWARDI DE JETTIVE

The motto of the abbey was a quotation from St. Bernard, and was usually adopted by abbeys of the Cistercian Order:—“Bonum est nos hic esse, quia homo vivit purius, cadit rarius, surgit velocius, incedit caulius, quiescit securius, moritur felicius, purgator citius, præmiatur copiosus.” It has been translated into a sonnet by Wordsworth.

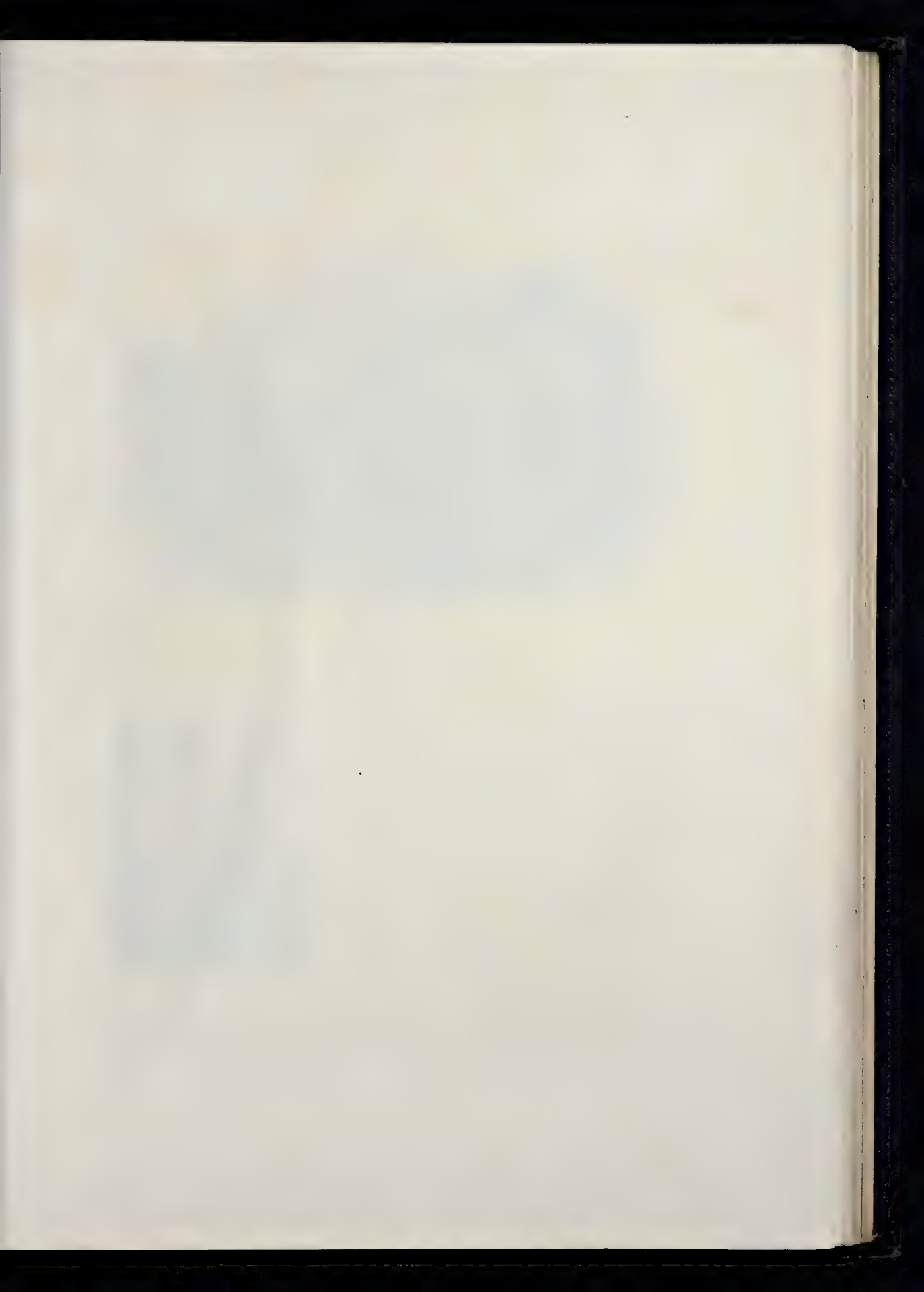


GROUND PLAN OF THE ABBEY.

- | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|---|
| 1. Church. | 6. Chapter House. | 11. Refectory. |
| 2. North Transept. | 7. Passage. | 12. Garden. |
| 3. South Transept. | 8. East Parlor. | 13. Tower. |
| 4. Peristyle (cloister). | 9. Rector's house. | 14, 15, 16. Ruins. (14, probably Abbot's
chamber.) |
| 5. Sacristy. | 10. Battery. | |



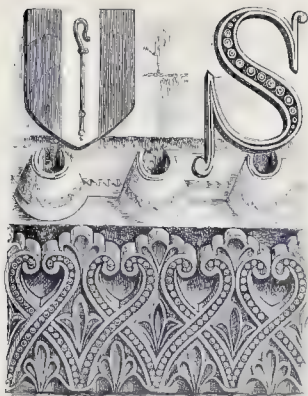






FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

The Cistercian Abbey of Furness.



STEPHEN, third son of Stephen, Comte de Blois, of Blois on the Loire, in the Province of Orleanois, by Adele, daughter of William the Conqueror, was born in the year 1105. At an early age he was brought to England by his uncle, King Henry I., with whom he became a great favourite. His uncle bestowed on him large estates, both in Normandy and England, including lands in North Lancashire; he also negotiated for him a marriage with Maud, daughter of Eustace, third Comte de Boulogne, who was a younger brother of Godfrey de Bouillon, one of the most famous of the heroes of the Crusades. By his uncle he was created Earl of Mortagne, a place in the Province of Orme, on the borders of Normandy, and on the death of his father-in-law, in 1125, he succeeded, *jure uxoris*, as Earl of Boulogne.

King Henry having lost his only son William in the wreck of the Blanche Nef, called a council in London, in 1127, to settle the succession on his surviving child Maud, who was married to the Emperor Henry V., when Stephen, along with other dignitaries of the realm, lay and ecclesiastical, took the oath of fealty to the empress, who shortly afterwards married her second husband Geoffrey Plantagenet of Anjou, and had issue a son, afterwards Henry II., and first of the line of Plantagenet kings.

At that time in the little town of Savigny, in the neighbourhood or perhaps upon the lands of the house of Blois, there had been established an abbey of the Benedictine Order, but on reformed principles; and anxious to extend their particular rule, the abbots and convent sent detachments of monks in various directions to plant offshoots of the mother house. Stephen was doubtless acquainted with the fathers of this monastery, and being now a wealthy noble, and desirous of promoting the welfare of his soul by means of his wealth, undertook to erect and endow an abbey in England, in affiliation with Savigny.

In the year 1124, therefore, Evanus, as abbot, and twelve monks, left the walls of the monastery, and were received in England by Earl Stephen, who located them, temporarily it would seem, until an abbey could be built, in an ancient monastic hospital at Tulket, in Amounderness, central Lancashire, being the fourth colony sent out by Savigny since 1112, when it was founded. Part of the chapel of this old establishment was remaining in the middle of the last century. The abbot, who was a man of great sagacity and judgment, and well fitted for the superintendence of a monastic establishment, lost no time in exploring the country in search of a suitable spot for the new abbey, and found one in the valley of Bekansgill, or Glen of the Deadly Nightshade.

"Hæc vallis tenuit olim sibi nomen ad herba
Bekan, qua viruit, dulcis nunc, tunc acerba
Inde domus nomen,—Bekansgill, claruit ante."

STELL, a Poet of Furness Abbey.

The valley was overgrown with abundance of the *Solanum lethale*, whence its name of the Glen of the Deadly Nightshade. It is frequently said that the name Bekansgill is derived from this circumstance, Bekan having been the name of the plant, which is not the fact, and it is probable that it was so named from the "Beck," or "Gill," a streamlet which meandered through the valley. The valley lay towards the southern end of Furness, and was selected by Abbot Evanus for several reasons. It was a secluded spot in the midst of forest trees, remote from the highways of traffic, and admirably adapted for religious meditation; the soil was exceedingly fertile, and productive of fruits and vegetables of the finest quality; the district was well protected from marauders by the wooded fells of High Furness, with its difficult roads, dense woods, and the lake of Windermere; on the west by Morecambe Bay and its dangerous sands; on the east by the Duddon sands, and on the south by the sea and some outlying islands. The valley was watered by a never-failing rivulet, with convenient places for fish-ponds and mills; and finally there was abundance of material—a firm, hard, red sandstone in the rocks; iron ore and lead in abundance, obtainable by very slight labour, and plenty of timber in the surrounding forests—materials of such a quality as to enable them to erect a sanctuary sufficiently stable as almost to defy the corroding hand of time. The precise spot selected was half a mile down the valley, and about a mile distant from the little town of Dalton, then the capital of the district, which in the late Saxon period was one of the twenty-four townships of the manor of Hougou, belonging to Tosti, Earl of Northumbria, and brother of King Harold.

The district of Furness, of which the abbot became the supreme lord, with almost sovereign power, is the most northern portion of Lancashire, constituting what is called "Lonsdale north of the sands," which, with "Lonsdale south of the sands," form the Hundred of Lonsdale. At the time of *Domesday Book*, Furness, with the whole of North Lancashire, South Westmoreland, and a part of Cumberland formed a portion of the West Riding of Yorkshire. At that time it was in a state of high cultivation, employing sixty-six ploughs, besides those belonging to the lords of the manors.

The district is divided into High Furness, or Furness Fells, and Low Furness. The former consists of hills, uplands, and valleys, being the commencement of the lake and mountain

country of Cumberland and Westmoreland, highly picturesque, with the beautiful lake of Windermere separating it on the east from Westmoreland. The fells at one time were the boundary between England and Scotland. Low Furness is a peninsula formed by two arms of the sea running inland, Morecambe Bay separating it from Cartmel and other portions of North Lancashire, and Duddon Sands separating it from Cumberland, and terminating on the extreme south with a naze, or ness, a promontorial projection into the sea, which doubtless gave the name to the district. Fore-naze, or Fur-ness, like many others, as Holderness—Hollow-deira-ness—the lowlands at the nose of Deira; Walton-on-the-Naze, Orford-ness, Foulness, etc., and was the "Promontorium Anterius" of the Romans. This portion is level and low-lying, but well wooded and fertile, and abounding in mineral wealth, which latter has given rise to the modern town of Barrow, with its huge chimneys, roaring furnaces, and ponderous steam-engines, which has sprung up like a mushroom, and however prosperous and wealth-making it may be in a commercial point of view, it seems with its griminess and the clouds of black smoke which pollute the air, to desecrate the hallowed precincts of the abbey. The whole of Furness is about twenty-five miles in length, the upper portion varying from fourteen to ten miles in width, whilst in the peninsula it ranges in width from six miles to a point. Off the coast on the south and west is the large island of Walney, between which and the mainland is a natural harbour on which the town of Barrow stands, besides which there are several smaller islands, on one of which—Fouldrey—are the remains of the old castle of Piel of Fouldrey, and near by is the modern port and watering place of Fleetwood, with its lines of steamers to the Isle of Man and Ireland.

The scenery of Upper Furness is on a much grander scale than the peninsular portion. Arthur Young, in 1771, gives a picture of it as he then saw it, which in its main features would serve for it as it appeared during the time when it formed part of the abbey demesne, only probably it would then have a wilder aspect, with fewer roads, habitations, and church spires in the prospect. "Standing on an eminence," he says, "you look down upon a noble winding valley, of about twelve miles in length, everywhere enclosed with grounds which rise in a very bold and various manner; in some places bulging into mountains, abrupt, wild, and uncultivated, and in others breaking into rocks, craggy, pointed, and irregular; here rising into hills covered with the noblest woods, presenting a gloomy brownness of shade, almost from the clouds to the reflection of the trees in the limpid water of the lake they so beautifully skirt; there waving in glorious slopes of cultivated enclosures, adorned in the sweetest manner with every object that can give variety to art or elegance to nature; trees, woods, villages, houses, and farms scattered with picturesque confusion, and waving to the eye in the most romantic landscape that nature can exhibit.

"This valley, so beautifully enclosed, is floated by the lake (Windermere), which spreads forth to the right and left, in one vast but irregular expanse of transparent water; a more noble object can hardly be imagined. Its immediate shore is traced in every variety of line that fancy can imagine, sometimes contracting the lake into the appearance of a noble winding river; at others retiring from it and opening into large bays, as if for navies to anchor in; promontories spread with woods, or scattered with trees and enclosures, projecting into the water in the most picturesque style imaginable; rocky points breaking the shore, and rearing their bold heads above the water; in a word, a variety that amazes the beholder. But what finishes the scene with an elegance too delicious to be imagined, is this beautiful sheet of water being dotted with no less than ten islands distinctly comprehended by the eye, all of the most bewitching beauty," etc.

Such was the domain selected by Abbot Evanus in which to plant his new monastery, and he would have had to have gone far before he found another equally lovely in its scenery, and equally well fitted for the requirements of a monastic institution. Soon after the Conquest the Saxon landowners were dispossessed, and Furness given to Roger of Poitou, one of the

followers of the Conqueror, but he did not hold it long, as at the time of Domesday it was in the hands of the Crown, having been confiscated in consequence of the defection of Roger, and soon after that King Henry bestowed it on his nephew Stephen, who, when Evanus selected it as the seat of the abbey, made over the whole of it to the abbot and convent, with the exception of the lands held by Michael le Fleming. The abbot proceeded with such vigour in the erection of the abbey, that the chancel of the church for the celebration of Divine Service, the chapter house for business and deliberative purposes, and the habitations of the monks, with necessary household offices, were completed by 1127, when the fraternity migrated from Tulket, and took up their residence in their new home, Earl Stephen in the same year giving them the following charter of Foundation, in confirmation of his gift:—



“In the name of the Blessed Trinity, and in honour of St. Mary of Furness, I, Stephen, Earl of Bologne and Montagne, consulting God, and providing for the safety of my own soul, the soul of my wife, the Countess Matilda, the soul of my uncle Henry, King of England and Duke of Normandy, and for the souls of the faithful, living as well as dead, in the year of Our Lord 1127, of the Roman indiction the 5th. and 18th. of the epact:

“Considering every day the uncertainty of life, that roses and flowers of kings, emperors, and dukes, and the crowns and palms of all the great wither and decay; and that all things, with an uninterrupted course, tend to dissolution and death; I, therefore, return, give, and grant to God and St. Mary of Furness, all Furness and Walney, with the privilege of hunting; with Dalton and all my lordship in ‘Frudernesiam,’ with the men and everything thereto belonging, that is, in woods and in open grounds, in lands and in water; with Ulverston, and Roger Braithwaite, with all that belongs to him; my fisheries at Lancaster and Little Guorum, with all the land thereof, with sac and soc, toll and team, ingfantheof, and every thing in Furness, except the lands of Michael le Fleming; with this view and upon this condition, that in Furness an order of regular monks be, by Divine permission, established; which gift and offering, I, by supreme authority, appoint to be for ever observed; and that it may remain firm and inviolate for ever, I subscribe this charter with my hand, and confirm it with the sign of the Holy Cross.

"Attested by Henry, King of England and Duke of Normandy; Thurstan, Archbishop of York; Audin and Boces, Bishops; Robert, Keeper of the Great Seal; and Robert, Earl of Gloucester."

The privileges included in this grant by the terms *sac* and *soc*, etc., comprehended the right and authority to levy fines in the lordship; of administering justice between man and man; of levying tolls and dues on merchandise bought or sold; of holding a sovereign power over their villein tenants, their wives, children, and goods, with the right of disposing of them at pleasure; and of holding courts of justice relative to thefts within the lordship.

Amongst the archives of the Duchy of Lancaster there is preserved—

CARMINA HISTORICA DE FUNDATIONE FURNESCIENSIS CENOBIS.

"Anno milleus conteno bis duodeno
Fournes fundatum primò fuit, et situatum,
Primus ei fundus Tulket fuit, haud dubitantur,
Quo jam fundatur est Bekanesgillque secundus
Annis namque tribus transactis, totque diebus.
Tolliter à fundo primo struiturque secundò
Agmungdernesiam qua primò florunt aedes
Hæc, teneas patriam qua Tulket erat sibi sedes.
Annos à fundo si vis numerare secundo
Illius ætatis capi versibus hic subaratis."

It was in the same year of signing the Furness Charter that Stephen took the oath of fealty to his cousin the Empress Matilda, who a few months after married Geoffrey of Anjou, and subsequently gave birth to a son, Henry, afterwards Henry II., King of England. In the year 1135, Stephen stood by the deathbed of his uncle King Henry, in Normandy, and as soon as the breath was out of the old king's body, despite his oath, he hurried across sea to London, where his pleasing amiability, handsome person, and gallant and royal bearing had secured him a host of friends; seized the sceptre, and was crowned amid the acclamations of the people at Westminster, his usurpation being confirmed by a bull of Pope Innocent II. But the empress and her son had also some zealous partizans, and the nineteen years of Stephen's reign was a period of continual civil war. On one occasion he was captured and imprisoned, loaded with chains in the Castle of Bristol, and Maud proclaimed queen by her party; but she proved to be "altogether so fiery, insolent, and exasperating a female," so tyrannical and rapacious, that her rule becoming intolerable, she was displaced, and Stephen restored. Afterwards a compromise was made that he should retain the sceptre during the term of his natural life, and that Prince Henry Plantagenet should succeed him, to the exclusion of the sons of Stephen. He died at Dover in 1154, when the Plantagenet dynasty commenced its rule over the realm.

The monks had now got settled in their new home, and were busily engaged in completing the monastic buildings, laying out their grounds, arranging terms with their tenants, dictating duties to their serfs, and entering into amicable relations with their neighbours. They had not, however, been there long before they began to hear reports of the marauding propensities of the Scots across the border, who were wont to swoop down upon the lands of Furness, carry off the cattle, burn the houses of the peasants, massacre the inhabitants, and plunder the churches. These reports disquieted them, and they felt, although in some degree they were protected by their natural defences—the dangerous sands of Duddon, and the tangled, roadless fells of Upper Furness—they were not sufficiently secure against the attacks of these ferocious freebooters, and they deemed it necessary to provide for the means of defence. At the southern extremity of the isle of Walney is a much smaller island called Fouldry, commanding the entrance to the natural harbour between the former island and the mainland, and here they erected a fortress, at first small in size, called *Le Pele de Foddray*, at first as much for the collection of dues on shipping as for defence, which is sometimes said to

have been built in 1328, but from the evidence of deeds was in existence in the reign of Stephen. It was afterwards, perhaps in 1328, considerably enlarged and strengthened, so as not only to serve as a fortress of defence, but to afford a refuge for the whole body of monks, when compelled to fly from the abbey. It consisted of three divisions—the outer court or bailey, the inner court, and central donjon—and was surrounded by a moat with drawbridge, and a surrounding wall with bastions and towers, massive gates, and portcullis, whilst within were soldiers' barracks and stables, and a chapel. It is now a somewhat gloomy looking ruin, but is seated in the midst of great natural beauty. In 1588 we find "Pylle" described as "an olde decayd castell of the Douchie of Lancaster in Furness Felles, wher one Frustone (a Pypyshe Atheist) is depute Steward and commanders the manrede and lands ther which wer sometime membre appertayninge to the Abbaye of Furness."

Two miles northward lay the little capital of Furness, Dalton. It had been a Roman station with a castellum, and on the site of this fort the abbots built a castle of considerable strength, and kept it garrisoned with men at arms. The town stands on a gentle declivity, with a main street, and side streets branching out of it; the main street, as it ascends the rise, widens into a market place, and on the summit was the castle built, which commanded the town and dominated the country around. The keep, a large and strongly-built square tower, still remains, and gives an air of dignity to the town. Besides these measures of precaution, every tenant on the Furness estates was bound to find a man and horse for the abbot's military service in times of peril; so that ample provision was made for defence; and further to render these means more effective, three beacons were erected within sight of each other, one on the fells in the north, a second on an eminence opposite the abbey, and the third at Rampside, on the coast opposite Piel Castle, so that in a very short space of time information could be sent from end to end of Furness of an invasion. In another spot also, out of the range of the flaming beacons, a watch-tower was built, in which a man was constantly on the look-out for any indications of the approach of the enemy. The castle at Dalton is supposed to have been erected about the time of Edward III., but it seems probable that there would be some protective building at an earlier period.

The abbey at Tulket and at Furness, until the abbacy of Philip de Baiacis, followed the rule of St. Benedict, from 1124 to 1148 or 1149, when it became Cistercian, and the buildings were erected according to the Benedictine plan; but we may presume that either they were mere temporary erections, or were destroyed, as they have entirely disappeared, none of the existing ruins giving indications of an earlier date than the abbacy of John Cauncefield, 1152—1175, the Transition period. The first buildings would be in the Norman style, which extended from 1046 to 1145, of which no fragments are to be seen. As the monks would be amply supplied with funds by their wealthy patron, Earl Stephen, they would unquestionably be of a substantial character, not makeshifts to be replaced by better buildings afterwards; therefore we may conclude that the Norman monastery was destroyed by the Scots during their irruption in 1138, when they laid the whole district waste and desolate, and razed the castle of Piel of Foulrey to its foundations. The re-edification of the abbey was commenced during the abbacy of John de Cauncefield, according to the plans of the Cistercians, as minutely specified, and this, with some after additions and alterations, in subsequent styles, was the monastery whose picturesque ruins still adorn the valley of Bekansgill.

Besides Earl Stephen, the founder, the abbey found many successive friends and benefactors, so that it waxed in wealth until it became among the Cistercian abbeys second only to Fountains. One of the first was Michael le Fleming, a considerable landowner in Furness, who, in 1153, granted the estate of Fordbooc, or Fordbottle, a place of which no traces now remain. The De Lancasters, Barons of Kendal, were continual benefactors, and had a sepulchral chapel in the abbey. Their lands were in Westmoreland and Ryedale, which joined the abbey lands, besides others in other counties.

The feudal Barons of Kendal deduced their ancestry from Ivo Tailboys, brother of Fulk, Earl of Anjou. William de Tailboys, his great grandson, was Governor of Lancaster Castle, from which circumstance he assumed the surname of Lancaster. William de Lancaster, his grandson, was Steward to King Henry II. He was the last of the male line, having married Helewise de Stuteville, and leaving an only daughter, Helewise, who married Gilbert Fitz Rheinfride, who had a grant of the Honour of Lancaster for life, and was Sheriff of Lancashire from the 7th. to the 17th. of John. Notwithstanding these favours he took up arms with the barons against the king, but was compelled to sue for pardon after the capture of his son and the king's success at Rochester, which he only obtained by the payment of a fine of twelve thousand marks, the surrender of some of his castles, and giving hostages for his future good conduct. He died in 1219, leaving issue, William, his heir, and Helewise, who married Peter de Brus, whose eldest daughter, Margaret, married Robert de Ros, whose descendant and heiress, Elizabeth, married Sir William Parr, and was mother of Queen Catherine Parr.

William de Lancaster, his son, called the eighth Baron of Kendal, was the most generous benefactor of the family. He had custody of the Honour of Lancaster, and was Sheriff of the county from the 18th. to the 30th. Henry III., and died *s.p.* about the year 1246, with whom terminated the legitimate line of the family, his estates passing to the representatives of his two sisters and coheirresses. But he had an illegitimate brother Roger, who was Lord of the Manor of Barton, in Westmoreland, who served the office of Sheriff of Lancashire, and who died in 1290, leaving a son, John de Lancaster, who, having distinguished himself in the Scottish war, was summoned to Parliament, by writ, as Baron de Lancaster, from December 1299 to December 1309, but dying issueless in 1334, the barony became extinct. William de Lancaster, *supra*, eighth Baron of Kendal, and called third Baron of Lancaster, in 1240 bequeathed his body for burial in the abbey church, and with it certain lands and fisheries. The deed of grant runs as follows:—

"To all the faithful in Christ, William de Lancaster, greeting.

"Be it known unto you, that for the health of my own soul, the soul of Agnes my spouse, and the souls of all my predecessors and successors, I have given and granted to the Lord Abbot of Furness and to the Monks there serving God, certain lands which I held of them; that is, all Scathwaite and Egton, with all their members and appurtenances, the which lands I bequeath to them with my body; also a boat, sufficient to carry necessities in Thurstan water, and another small boat for fishing on the same water, whenever they please, with twenty nets for the use of the aforesaid monks; also on Windermere, one boat sufficient to carry mainement (building materials) and other necessities, and another small boat for fishing, with twenty nets, without any opposition from me or my heirs; but if any servant belonging to the monks, who shall have the care of their boats on the said waters, commit trespass in my forests, he shall be punished at my discretion; and if any such servant refuse to give and make reasonable satisfaction, he shall be dismissed, with the loss of his wages, by the monks from their service. Moreover, by these presents, I will, command, and testamentarily confirm that my corpse shall be interred in that place which I have made choice of within the aforesaid monastery, and which is in the presbytery, near to the body of my grandfather, William de Lancaster, of happy memory. And the said monks shall have what I have charitably bequeathed as aforesaid, and possess the same in peace as a perpetual alms; and I, the said William, and my heirs, will for ever warrant, quit claim, and defend the said alms against all men.

"In presence of these witnesses to this my gift and legacy:—Lady Agnes, my spouse; John, Prior of Coningsheved; my brother Roger; Robert de Laybourne; and Laurence, my Knight; Rowland, my Seneschal; Gilbert de Lancaster; my High Constable of Kirby; Robert le Taylor; Gilbert Bovile.

"Given at Kirby, in Kendal, 6 Nov., 1240."

After her husband's death Agnes confirmed the above grant, and added to it by quit claiming her right of dower in the said lands.

In 1242 Adam de Grefholme bequeathed "all my land of Grefholme and Drilen, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres I had of Ranulph de Bolton (le Sands)." Besides these, they had grants and bequests from nearly all the neighbouring families—the Broughtons, the Kirkbys, the Penningtons, the Huddlestons, etc. At every demise they had a charter of confirmation from the succeeding heads of the families, and general charters of confirmation from each successive king, as well



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as bulls of confirmation and protection from Popes Alexander III., Urban III., Celestine III., and others; the leaden seal of the bull of the last mentioned was found in the ruins in 1840.

The various charters of Henry I. and II., Richard I., John, and Henry III., enumerate the following as their chief territorial possessions:—Staplethorne, Furneis Forest, Isle of Wagney with the chase, Dalton town, Wynterbourne, Fordbotle, Crinelton, Rose, Bordesley, Sellesee, Newby, etc. Amongst their rights and privileges:—Sheriff's turn, assize of bread and beer, wreck of the sea, waifs, sac and soc, tol and team, infantheof, a market, fair, and gallows at Dalton; to make summons and attachment by bailiff in Furness; free warren over their lands in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cumberland, etc.; with exemption from fines and amercements, county suits and wapentakes; the abbot from personal appearance in any court of justice in the realm, with license to prosecute and defend all causes in the courts, both within and without the county, by his attorneys, appointed under the seal of the abbot and convent of Furness. The abbot in fact ruled over Furness as a district palatine, held manorial

and feudal rights, appointed a sheriff, coroner, and constable; had a court of criminal jurisdiction; the patronage of all the churches excepting one; all emoluments of wardship, with the power of fining heiresses who married without his permission, and of driving off any outside bailiff who intruded on his territories. He had a mansion in York, and another at Boston in Lincolnshire; a harbour capable of accommodating the largest ships of the time in all states of the tide; and four iron mines, which, however, were only worked for home use, not for exportation, and maintained a little army for protection; Abbot Pele, the last



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of the series, having one thousand two hundred and fifty-eight men armed with coats of mail, spears, and bows and arrows, always ready for service, four hundred of whom were mounted.

The alms of the abbey were on a grand scale. On the anniversary of St. Crispin, there were distributed to the poor at the porter's lodge, the dismembered portions of two oxen, two cows, and one bull, and at the same place, every Monday and Friday, ninety-nine shillings worth of bread and six mazes of fresh herrings, worth forty shillings. There were maintained, from the foundation to the last, thirteen poor men, with a yearly allowance to each of thirty-three shillings and fourpence; eight widows with same pension; and to both five flagons of ale weekly; and two schools for the gratuitous education of the children of the tenants.

In a lawsuit after the dissolution, in the year 1582, between the tenants of Lowness, who held leases granted by the abbot, and John Brograve, Attorney General of the Duchy of Lancaster, a very old man appeared as a witness, who stated that he had many times seen

the tenants resort to the monastery on tunning-days, sometimes with twenty, sometimes with thirty horses, and had delivered unto every one of them barrels of beer, containing from ten to twelve gallons, worth then 10*d.* or 12*d.* a barrel, and twelve loaves of bread delivered to every one that had a barrel of beer. Another witness stated that the children and servants of the tenants went from their labour in the field to dinner and supper at the abbey, and were encouraged to come to the abbey school to be taught.

There was an office connected with the abbey, that of the Sergeantry or Stewardship of Furness, which shews the dignity and importance to which it attained. This office was eagerly sought for by men of rank, who considered that it added to their own dignity to be entrusted with it. In 1340 it was held by Sir Robert de Holand, of an old Lancashire family, second Baron Holand, whose father lost his head in connection with the rebellion of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and whose brother Thomas was created Earl of Kent, and was grandfather of Thomas de Holland, Duke of Surrey; and there is a letter extant from Abbot Rawlinson, it is said, but doubtfully, to Cardinal Wolsey, in which he states, that in compliance with his request, the convent would grant the Stewardship to the Earl of Derby, if they might have returned to them a grant "made and sealyd wyth oure convent seale and delyured vnto the late Earle of Derby, by John Dalton, fortensid Abbot, in ye time of his intrusion;" adding, "I was comyng to youre Grase by the space of xl. miles and more, whereas I had knowledge how the term was adorned (adjourned), and the great plague renyng (reigning), wherefore I adornyed to my mon'stry."

Furness threw out several offshoots, becoming the parent of many flourishing abbeys. The first was at Calder, in Cumberland, in 1134, whither Gerold was sent with twelve monks, but they had not been there more than four years, when their lands were laid waste and their buildings destroyed by the Scots. Upon which Gerold and his monks took to flight, made their way over the fells, and presented themselves at the gates of Furness; but the abbot, instead of commiserating and sheltering them, taunted them with cowardice, and shut the door against them. Destitute of food, and without the means of procuring it, they wandered forth into Yorkshire, and were fortunate enough, when footsore and half-starved, to meet with Gundrede, the widowed mother of Roger de Mowbray, who took compassion on them, entertained them at her castle of Thirsk, and subsequently induced her son to found an abbey, which grew into the magnificent monastery of Byland. At first they were subject to Furness, but Abbot Gerold went to Savigny to procure exemption from that subjection, in which he succeeded, but on his return died at York, and was succeeded by Roger, the sub-cellarer, one of the monks who had come from Furness.

The second was Rushen, or Russin, in the Isle of Man, founded by King Olaf in 1134, bestowing on it one third of the tithes of the island for the purposes of education and charity. He made it a cell dependant on Furness, with the right of electing the abbot, and it is said that of appointing the Bishops of Man. Several kings, bishops, and other illustrious persons were interred within its walls. There now remains of it two square ruined towers and a small arched structure, supposed to cover the entrance to a vault.

The third was Swinehead, near Boston, Lincolnshire. It was founded by Robert de Greslei in 1134, but is said in the chronicles of Furness to have been colonised by Furness monks in 1148,—a slight discrepancy, as it does not seem probable that it would remain fourteen years from the foundation without inhabitants. It was to this abbey that King John went after the loss of his baggage and munitions of war in the Wash, during his contest with the Dauphin, and it was here that he was stricken with the fever, caused by vexation and irritation at his loss, which carried him off a few days afterwards at Newark.

In Ireland the abbey planted an offshoot in 1183 in the Diocese of Down, called Ynes, or De Insula; and five years later, one, previously settled at Nether Wyersdale, Lancashire, at Wothene, County Limerick, on land given by Theobald Walter. Four other Irish abbeys

were in 1249 placed under the control of the abbey of Furness, viz., Fermoy, or De Castro Dei, founded in 1170; Wethirlagaan, or Holy Cross, in the Diocese of Cashel, founded in 1183; Corkonrouth, or De Petra fertili, founded in 1197; and Yneselughenaught, or De Surio, in County Tipperary, founded in 1249.

Abbots of Furness.

The list of abbots is perplexing and incomplete; the names, the order of succession, and the dates, arising out of a strange custom prevalent in the abbey, and not known elsewhere, of inserting in the register the names of such abbots only as had held office ten years or more, and died in office; so that an abbot before he had accomplished his ten years, or if after that he were translated to another abbey, promoted to a bishopric, had resigned, or were deposed, his name was altogether omitted. Thus very few of them appear in that record, and the remainder can only be arrived at from incidental notices in other documents, and sometimes with only approximate dates. As nearly as can be ascertained the following is a list; and the dates, where not otherwise specified, those of their occurrence in connection with certain acts and deeds.

- EVANUS, or IVO DE ABRINCIS: "magnæ scientitiæ et non minoris sanctitatis vir," (Register) 1124.
 EUDO DE SOURDEVILLE, "cui Honorius Papa secundus scribit privilegium speciale," (Register) circa 1130.
 MICHAEL DE LANCASTER. Not in the Mortuary Register.
 PETER DE EBORACO (in the Register SERLO), the last Benedictine abbot. Abducted 1148.
 PHILIP, or RICHARD DE BAIACOS (BAYEUX).
 JOHN DE CAUNCEFIELD, 1152—1175, during whose abbacy the abbey was rebuilt.
 WILLIAM DE MILLUM, 1175—1180.
 JOCELYNE DE PEYNTON (PENNINGTON), 1181.
 CONON DE BARDOULE.
 WILHELMUS NIGER. Translated from Swineshead.
 GIRALDUS BRISTALDUM, or BRISHALTON (BIRSTALL).
 MICHAEL DE DALTON, 1st. Richard I.
 RICHARD DE ST. QUINTUNE, 1191.
 RALPH DE FLEETHAM.
 JOHN DE NEWBY.
 STEVEN DE ULVERSTON.
 NICHOLAS DE MEAUX, Bishop of Man, 1203—1217, originally a canon at Warter, near Pocklington, afterwards a monk at Meaux, or Melsa, near Beverley, then monk and abbot at Furness.
 ROBERT DE DENTON. Translated from Swineshead.
 LAWRENCE DE ACCLOM.
 WILLIAM DE MIDDLETON, temp. Henry III.
 HUGH LE BRON.
 WILLIAM DE COCKERHAM: "cujus corpus jacet sub longo colosso marmoreo in capitulo sine epitaphia" (Register).
 HUGH SKYLLER, or DE DALTON. Deposed 1297.
 JOHN DE COCKERHAM, 1303—1340.
 ALEXANDER DE WALTON, 1342—1347.
 JOHN DE BOLTON, 1381.
 WILHELMUS DE DALTON, 1405—1416: "modernus qui diu vivat in gratia et honoræ" (Register).
 ROBERT, 2nd. Henry VI.
 THOMAS, 1424 and 1432.
 WILLIAM WOODWARD, 1443.
 JOHN TURNER, elected 1443.
 ROBERT, or LAWRENCE, elected 1461.
 THOMAS, elected 1491.
 JOHN DALTON, temp. Henry VIII.; doubtful.
 ALEXANDER DE RAWLINSON, or BANKES, or BAUCH, 1508—1532.
 ROGER PYLE, or PEIL. Surrendered the abbey, 1537.

There are only ten abbots mentioned in the mortuary book of the abbey in two hundred and seventy-seven years.

The Abbots of Furness were frequently summoned to Parliament, but not after 1230, when writs were not issued to other ecclesiastics excepting bishops and abbots holding of the king *in capite per Baronium*; but we have no record of any of the Abbots of Furness

answering to the summons, arising perhaps out of the distance they would have to travel, and the perilous nature of the roads across the sands out of Furness. In 1204, the Abbot of Furness was one of twenty Cistercian abbots who were summoned.

The Cistercian monasteries produced very few men of literary eminence, compared with the Benedictines. In connection with Furness we only know of one, John Stell, a poet, one of the monks. His only known work is a poetical preface to the chartulary of the abbey, a beautifully illuminated folio sixteen inches by ten and a half, engrossed in monkish black letter by John Stell and Richard Esk, monks, compiled in 1442, under the abbacy of William Dalton, and was written, as is stated in the preface, with a silver pen. It is on the authority of this poetical preface that it has been stated by repeated historians of Furness and the abbey, that *Bekansgill* is the ancient name of the plant the deadly nightshade. This chartulary is the only known relic of the scriptorium; it is preserved in the office of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Jocelyn de Furnesio, a monk of the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries, author of a *Life of St. Patrick* and some other early British saints, is supposed to have been of Furness, although it is thought by some that he was a monk of Ferns, in Ireland.

Annals of Furness Abbey.

As we have seen, the Benedictine monks of Savigny determined to establish a colony, affiliated to their house, in England; and under the patronage of Earl Stephen the offshoot was planted, most probably temporarily, at Tulket, near Preston, and that three years afterwards the community removed to their permanent home in Furness. They were not long before they began to throw off colonies themselves,—at Calder, in Cumberland, and at Rushen, in the Isle of Man; the latter on land given by King Olaf, who, it is said, at the same time ordained that the future Bishops of Man should be elected by and from the monks of Furness. In 1138 they suffered severely from an irruption of the Scots, who destroyed their buildings, laid the country waste, and dismantled the Castle of Piel, on the Isle of Fouldrey.

A few years before the foundation of Furness, St. Bernard, of Clairvaux, the second founder of the Cistercian Order, or reformed Benedictines, had been so successful in propagating the new rule, that he had, during the thirty-eight years that he was abbot, been instrumental in founding not less than one hundred and sixty Cistercian abbeys, whilst within fifty years three hundred were established. The fathers of Savigny, through the influence of Pope Eugenius III., with their thirty affiliated abbeys, were induced to adopt the Cistercian rule, and subject themselves to St. Bernard. This was carried out in the year 1148; but the monks of Furness, with their abbot, Peter de Eboraco, did not care to be thus handed over to Clairvaux. They were satisfied with the rules of the Savignian Order, did not think those of Clairvaux in any respect superior, and in full chapter protested against the transference. But it was of no avail; the chapter of Savigny told them that the matter had been decided, and that Furness, as a mere branch of the parent stem, was bound to submit to the decision. Thereupon the monks again met to discuss the question in chapter, and the result was that they sent their abbot, Peter, to Rome, to obtain permission from the Pope to remain in their original order, without any alteration of their rule. The abbot was successful in his appeal, and set out on his return home, but, unfortunately, in passing through France he had the indiscretion to call at Savigny, perchance with the view of exulting over the head chapter in his triumph. However that may be, he was not received very graciously; he was reproached with disobedience, handled with rough treatment, deposed from his abbacy, and kept in close confinement, until he consented, under alternate threats and promises, to become Cistercian. He was not, however, permitted to return to Furness, but was enrolled as a monk of Savigny, and was eventually promoted to the abbacy of Quamore. At this time there was in the

abbey of Furness a monk who had come from Savigny, Richard of Bayeux, a man of considerable learning, who had won the esteem of the brethren by his piety and ability; and when the news of the deposition of their abbot, Peter of York, reached them, they met in chapter, and almost unanimously elected the Norman as his successor. The new abbot was favourable to the Cistercians, and by his persuasive eloquence he brought over the brethren to reconsider their opposition to the change of rules, and they eventually, seeing it to be the best policy to coincide with their Savignian brethren, passed a resolution to adopt the Cistercian Order.

Richard of Bayeux does not appear to have held the office long, perhaps only sufficiently so to induce the monks to agree to the change of rule, for it was his successor, John de



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Cauncefield, who obtained, from Pope Eugenius, a bull of reconciliation of himself and the monks to the mother Abbey of Savigny.

It was not long after this, that a dispute broke out with the Abbey of Waverley, in Surrey, on the question of precedence. Waverley was the first Cistercian abbey established in England, which took place in 1129, and it claimed priority over all other abbeys of the order in the realm; but Furness contended that as their house was founded in 1124 the right of precedence belonged to them. "But," replied Waverley, "you were Benedictines until 1148, and can only claim precedence from that year, which would place you not only behind us, but behind Rievaulx, Fountains, and Tintern as well, which were all founded before you became Cistercian." The dispute lingered on, and was not settled until 1232, when it was decided that "The Abbot of Furness should have precedence through all the Houses of Eleemosyne in England, but that the Abbot of Waverley should have precedence in the chapters of the abbots throughout England, with a superiority over the whole order." The dispute is only once mentioned in the "*Annales de Waverleia*" under date 1232, where this record occurs,—"*Questio prioratus inter Abbatem de Waurleia et Abbatem de Furnesio, terminatur in hoc modo; videlicet, quod Abbas de Furnesio habeat prioratum in tota Eleemosinæ in Anglia, et in generatione Savinciaci in Anglia tantum. Abbas autem Waurleia habeat prioratum*"

ubique tam in congregationibus Abbatum, quæ fuerint per Angliam quam alias per ordinem universum."

Pope Eugenius III., who had been a pupil and was a great friend of St. Bernard, partly, perhaps, as a reward for their compliance with his desire of their affiliation with Clairvaux, granted the abbey, in 1152, a bull in confirmation of all their lands and privileges, and moreover of exemption from the payment of tithes of lands cultivated by themselves, and cursing all who should presume to molest them.

About this time, the Grandorges, one of whom lies buried in the abbey, gave the abbot and monks estates at Winterbourne, Flasby, and Eshton near Gargrave; and in 1153 Michael le Fleming gave them Fardeboc, now lost, supposed to have been at a ford over a part of Morcambe Bay, marked in the chartulary under Roos.

Early in the reign of Henry II., a question arose as to the line of boundary between the lands of the abbey in Furness Fells, and those of William de Lancaster in his Barony of Kendal, which was settled by a jury of thirty sworn men, whose decision was confirmed by the king in a charter of ratification. In 1175, Pope Alexander III. granted a bull to the newly elected Abbot Walton, in confirmation of all the possessions of the abbey, and taking it specially under his protection.

Honorius, Archdeacon of Richmond, (although what authority he had to do so does not appear), granted, *circa* 1200, permission to the abbey to celebrate mass with wax candles during an interdict, and at the same time bestowed on it the chapel of Hawkshead, in Upper Furness, and a bovate of land with four tofts in Dalton.

In the reign of King John, the abbot got into trouble about the forest laws, and was fined five hundred marks and two palfreys, but was allowed to compound for two hundred marks, and excused the palfreys. The same king in 1208 made a demand of one thirteenth of all their moveables from his subjects in Furness, and as they were remiss in payment, he seized the lands of the abbey at Stalmire and Stapleterne, and distrained upon them.

In the vicinity of Ulverston, romantically situated, stood the small Augustinian Priory of Conishead, which had been founded by a Pennington of Pennington, ancestor of the extant Barons Muncaster. With this priory the abbot and convent had a lawsuit in 1208, they claiming the churches of Ulverston and Pennington, which they contended were mere chapels to their church of Urswick, and that consequently the patronage belonged to them, and further that the priory was built on land belonging to them, without their consent. Eventually the canons were allowed to retain the land, but to pay annually fifty shillings "*pro bono pacis*," and afterwards rented some other land of Furness Abbey, at Bardsee, at seventy shillings per annum. What was the decision relative to the patronage of the churches does not appear. In 1212, or 1213, the abbot obtained permission from the king to import corn, malt, and other provisions from Ireland. King John appears to have sent certain valuables to the abbey for safety, during his troubles with his barons, for we find that, immediately after the signature of Magna Charta (1215), he sent for his silver and gold plate, to be sent "by two of y^r monks and others of y^r people who you can well trust." He afterwards confirmed the grant of Borrowdale, by Alice de Romeli, of Skipton Castle, who translated the canons of Embsay, in Wharfedale, to Bolton, in remembrance of her son, the Boy of Egremont, who was drowned in the Strid; but charged the abbey fifty marks and twenty palfreys for the charter.

In the following reign (Henry III.) the abbot took advantage of the king's necessities to get the whole of Furness under his sway. He applied for a confirmation of Stephen's charter, and, without consulting the persons most interested, added the following clause, "and to have homage and service of Michael le Fleming, for all the land he held of the king for £10 yearly." As the application was accompanied by a bribe of four hundred marks, the charter was signed at once, and a precept was sent to Fleming to yield homage and service to the Abbot of Furness, the sheriff directing him to give seisin of the said homage and service.

But Michael did not at all approve of being turned over in this way, from being a tenant *in capite* of the crown to become a vassal of his neighbour the abbot, who, he considered, was proud and powerful enough, and ought rather to be curbed in his grasping greed after power and influence. He therefore protested against it to the king, who issued a writ of enquiry to the sheriff, "because we have been given to understand that we have been deceived in the concession we have made to the Abbot of Furness of the homage and service of Michael Flandressis." The sheriff summoned a jury, who gave it as their opinion, "that if the transaction be confirmed, it will be to the detriment of the king." The abbot, however, succeeded in getting complete confirmation, but it cost him the then enormous sum of £1,500, and he had to concede several valuable privileges and immunities to his powerful feudatory. Nevertheless it was well worth the cost, as from this time the Abbot of Furness became lord paramount of the whole of the peninsula, which greatly increased his dignity and importance. The charter is dated 1227. One of the manorial rights was the disposal of the hand and fortune of the widows of vassals in marriage, in which predicament the Flemings, much to their annoyance and irritation, no doubt, found themselves in 1277.

In the valor of 1291 the whole possessions of the abbey were assessed at £100 11s. 0½d., immensely below their value, says Whitaker.

King Edward I., in 1292, issued a quo warranto to the abbot, to shew his title to certain enumerated privileges. The enquiry came off at Lancaster, when it appeared that "no sheriff had made a tourn in Lancashire before Henry III., when Matthew de Redeman, sheriff in 1245, began to hold a sheriff's tourn twice a year, according to the custom of the realm at that time. That the coroner of Furneys began to hold a tourn twice a year in Furneys, commanded the abbot's bailiff to summon juries before him, delivered articles, brought in the rolls, and made the tourn as the sheriff does in a geldable country, without special warrant, receiving the issues and profits for the king's use. The abbot was at length amerced for a false claim, with respect to exemption from common fines and amercements, but was discharged *sine die* as to the other privileges, which were subsequently confirmed, on condition of paying 6s. 8d. annually to Henry, Earl of Lancaster."

The Scots under Robert Bruce invaded Furness in 1316, in which the abbey suffered so greatly that the king conceded a reduction of forty marks on the next year's assessment, the amount paid being little more than one fourth of the return of thirty years previously. Six years after, the Scots again made their appearance, and ravaged the territory in a still more violent and barbarous manner, leaving the crops destroyed, the houses and churches plundered and burnt, the people massacred, and the country altogether desolate. It was in consequence of these repeated invasions that the abbot built the strong castle of Piel on the Isle of Fouldrey, partly as a coast protection, and partly as a place of refuge on the approach of the foe. King Edward III. made the abbot a grant of free warren over all the abbey lands in Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cumberland; gave him a patent to empark Ramshead, Sowersby, Ronhead, Greenscogh, Hagg, and Millwood, in Low Furness, and Claiffe and other parts of the fells, and confirmed the grant of coroner and sheriff's tourn once a year, which had been made by Henry, Earl of Lancaster, in 1292.

For the next hundred years the annals of the abbey present few details of interest or importance. "Further acquisitions of lands, forced loans to needy princes, and quarrels with their larger feudatories, especially with the Lords of Aldingham, who were constantly disputing the claims of the abbots to seignorial privileges and powers over them, make up the records of the house for a couple of generations."

Secluded although the abbot and his monks were from the world in their narrow valley, their life was not one of absolute ease and freedom from trouble, as appears from a petition presented by the abbot and convent to the parliament in 1413 (13th. Henry IV.), which gives also a graphic picture of the state of the country, and the difficulties of travelling at that time.

"To the Supreme Court of Parliament, your humble petitioners, the Abbot and Convent of Furness of the Cistercian Order.

"Whereas the said Abbey is situated in an island in the county of Lancaster, and bath lands, tenements, rents, and possessions within the wapentakes of Staincliffe and Friendless, in Craven, in the county of York, belonging to the foundation of the said Abbey, at the distance of forty miles, and two dangerous arms of the sea of twelve miles in breadth intervene, and in which frequently many persons perish and are drowned; and that of late several evil-disposed persons, forming to themselves a design to destroy the said Abbey, to the prejudice of Divine Service, have invented and do invent in the said wapentakes, against the said Abbey, several trespasses, debts, and other contracts, very injurious to the said Abbey; so that the said Abbot cannot appear at the said wapentakes without danger to his person; and for his non-appearance, the Steward, his bailiffs and ministers, amerce the said Abbot with grievous fines, which they increase daily; and levy by distress on his tenants, to the great prejudice of the said house and Divine Service; unless the same be remedied in the present Parliament; and pray that our Lord the King may grant, by authority of Parliament, that the said Abbot and his successors may, by their Attorneys appointed under the seal of the Abbot for the time being, be allowed to put in their answers, or prosecute in the courts of the said wapentakes; and that the Attorneys, or any one of them, when all cannot be present, may be received in the said courts for the said Abbey and causes; and that neither the said Abbot nor his successors may be amerced in the said courts, otherwise than other seculars, on any plea whatever, for God's sake and in honour of charity."

Reply:—

"The King, at the request of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and at the request of the Commons, in the present Parliament, hath granted this Petition at the instance of the said Abbot, and adjudged the same to be exemplified.

"Witness: The King, at Westminster, the first day of February, in the 13th. year of his reign."

In the Rolls of Parliament, 1423, there is a petition from the merchants of Calais, complaining that Robert, Abbot of Furness, has been guilty of smuggling wool out of the kingdom, without payment of the custom or subsidy, and stating that a ship of two hundred tons burden had in June last come from Peele de Foddray to Conemuthe, in Zeland, laden with wool that had thus evaded the payment of the customary duties; from which it is evident that even holy abbots, pious and honest as they are presumed to have been, could not resist the temptation of running a cargo and defrauding the revenue, when they thought they could do so without being detected.

During this, the fifteenth century, occurred the wars of the roses, but they do not appear to have affected Furness, although in the adjoining county of Yorkshire the two memorable battles of Wakefield and Towton were fought. But the abbey did not escape the suspicion of being implicated negatively if not positively in an insurrection arising out of that war, the rising in favour of the imposter Lambert Simnel. King Henry VII. had confined Edward, Earl of Warwick, son of the Duke of Clarence, and only male descendant remaining of Richard, Duke of York, who fell at Wakefield, and who, after the daughters of Edward IV., was heir to the crown of England, the Earl of Richmond having no legitimate claim whatever, excepting those of the sword and the will of the people. Henry had scarcely been seated on the throne twelve months, when there appeared at Dublin, Simon, a priest of Oxford, who was accompanied by a boy who he asserted was the young Earl of Warwick who had escaped from the Tower. The people of Ireland were attached to the House of York, and with the Earl of Kildare at their head, accepted the assertion as a fact, proclaimed him in Dublin as King Edward VI., and crowned him in Dublin Cathedral, with a crown taken from a statue of the Virgin Mary. Having received the homage of his people, the "king," with Kildare and a not numerous following, crossed the channel for the invasion of England. "They came on shoare," says Speed, "in Lancashire, at a place called the Pile of Fowdray, where they joyne with their assured confedrate Sir Thomas Broughton and his sequel, and after some refreshments in these parts march with erected courages against King Henry." Laurentius was abbot at that time, and the castle was well fortified and garrisoned, to say nothing of the body of men at arms maintained inland by the abbey, and it is quite evident that the landing might have been prevented; but instead of any opposition, the invaders were allowed to land without molestation under the very walls of the castle, and were permitted to remain there or on the mainland, enlisting recruits, for some days, and where

they were joined by the Earl of Lincoln and several Lancashire magnates, who together marched across Yorkshire in the direction of Nottinghamshire, with an army of eight thousand men. They were met by the king's army at Stoke, near Newark, and defeated, Lincoln being amongst the slain, and Simon and Simnel captured, the former dying in prison, whilst the latter was made a scullion in the king's kitchen. It seems to be tolerably clear that Laurentius and his monks did not view the landing with an unfavourable eye; the Lancashire people generally were in his favour, and took up arms for him, and we may presume that the abbey would entertain similar feelings; at any rate they made no opposition, and were perhaps too wary to implicate themselves by any overt act, which might be construed into rebellion;



LOOKING NORTH

so they sat still, allowing the invaders to land, gather forces, and march away, without even a word of protest, but possibly with prayers for their success. It was perhaps with prescient instinctiveness that the monks gave a preference to the Plantagenets over the Tudors; they might have had ominous forebodings of dangers to the conventual system under the latter, which had flourished so vigorously under the former race of kings. From the early part of the sixteenth century clouds began to gather over the monasteries, betokening trouble, but not yet indicating the hurricane a quarter of a century hence, which was to sweep them away entirely from the face of England.

Amidst these signs of the times we find the vassals and tenants of the abbatial lords of manors grew bolder and bolder in their encroachments upon and resistance to the manorial rights, which were rigidly insisted on, and held with tenacious grasp by the cowed lords. In 1509, the Abbot of Furness laid a complaint that the tenants on the fells had been making enclosures, "more largelie than they had a righte to doe," which resulted in a compromise, saving the lord's rights, but practically leaving matters much as they were, excepting the payment of small yearly sums by the tenants, and the drawing up of a document entitled—"The Custome of Low Fournes," to which "the abbot, his monks, and twelve of the saide tenants haith sett their seales."

Rumours of danger to the monasteries began now to spread abroad, and the abbot and convent deemed it advisable to make friends at court. They therefore granted an annuity of £10 to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and another of £5 to Sir William Fitzwilliam, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and with obsequious compliance to the wish of Wolsey, constituted the Earl of Derby their High Steward. In 1531, William Tunstalle laid information "that the Abbot of Furnace haythe desayved the Kyng's Grace of the last subsidye, the somme of two hundred poundys and ffifty, and was guilty of other illegal exactions and withholdyns." A murder was committed in Furness by one Roland Tayllour, at the instigation, it was asserted, of Abbot Bankes. The murderer received the king's pardon, and the matter dropped; but it was taken up by Thomas Kendall, a London leather seller, who prayed that the abbot might be indicted as the instigator of the deed. Bankes was brought up for examination, and met the charge with explicit denial, but it was thought fortunate that he died (1532) before the matter was decided.

The Dissolution.

Roger Pyle, the last abbot, found the throne of Furness undermined and tottering on its foundation when he ascended it in 1532. Even before it fell he found it to be no Sybaritic bed of roses. He was required to send periodical reports to Cromwell, in one of which he complains that the monks will not obey him; "one," he says, "I was constrayned of werey equite to putt hym in presone; howbeit yer are diverse of his frendis that saith they woll have hym out of presone." In another letter to Cromwell he thanks him for his "loving letter;" states that he was elected by the last convocation at York to receive the second part of the king's subsidy, granted by Act of Parliament, within the diocese of Richmond. Has many times since sent to Master Seyton, now Farmer of the Church of Aldyngham in Furness, to pay his assessment, which he has heretofore refused, unless the abbot will take much less than he is charged with. He caused him, therefore, to be cited to York, and Seyton has since railed against him, and said he would complain of him to Cromwell and other of his friends. He begs Cromwell, therefore, to command him to pay the subsidy, and to make any complaints in writing, that he, the abbot, may answer them. In another letter he states that the king has demanded from the abbey the presentation of Hawkshead, and solicits "the excusyng offices of my synguler good master," sending along with it a bribe of ten "Royalles" (gold nobles).

In 1535 the visitation of Furness, preparatory to the dissolution, took place, and in the Report the following are the only irregularities reported:—"Incontinentici, Rogerus Pele, abbas, cum duabus solutis; Johannes Groyn, cum soluta; Thomas Hornby, cum quinque feminis; Thom. Settle cum soluta."

In order to make out a case against the abbey, the following frivolous charges were trumped up:—

"Robert Legatt, freer, accusyth the Abbot of Furness of falshode at the time of the visitation, in causing his monks to be foresworne.

"The Abbot caused the monks of Salley that were appointed to that monastery at the time of the (first) suppression to repair home again, to rebell against the King, insomuch he discharged oon of them of his chamber, because he would not goe, as other of his felowes did.

"The Abbot canceled the treason of Henry Salley, monk, who said, 'no secular knave should be hed of the church,' which Abbot also made suit to his brethren to hold with him in al things that shuld be laid to his charge, promysing to be for the same good unto them.

"The Vicar of Dalton accuseth the Abbot for not keping of his injunctions.

"The Abbot did know of the prophecies (of the Holy Maid of Kent), as John Brompton, monk, deposethe.

"The Baylif of Dalton deposethe that th' Abbot shuld send a Inc to his monks from Lethum, bidding them be of good chere, for he was sure on both sides, both for the King and the Comens.

"Christopher Mersh deposeth that th' Abbot, at his going to Lethum, bed his brethren doo the best they could to the Comens, which words the Abbot in his confession doth flaunt deny.

"The Prior of Furness, and John Greur, monk, caused ther tents t' appear befor the captaine of ther domens

on Alhsloen even, and the saide John Greur said the King shuld make no mo' Abs ther, but thei wuld chuse them themselves.

"John Herington and John Broughton, monks, have published a prophesie that the decorate rese shuld be slain in his mother's belye.

"One Xtofer Rodde saith, that oon of the monks said in the time of th' insurrection, that the King was not right heer to the crowne, for his father cam in by no true lyne, but by the sword.

"John Broughton, the monk, said the Bishop of Rome was unjustly put down, and shull be restored again in thre yeres.

"Henry Salley, monk, said that no secular knave shuld be hed of the church."



S.E.D.L.A.

The year 1535 saw the fall of the lesser monastic houses—those with incomes of less than £200 per annum. The monks and nuns were driven out; some to find refuge in the larger houses still standing, others with small pensions, and a vast number to join the ranks of labourers and beggars. The gates were shut where unstinted alms had been dispensed to the poor, some of whom lived entirely on what they obtained in wandering about from abbey to abbey, and now they were compelled either to work or steal, many preferring the latter mode of getting a livelihood to the former. Great discontent prevailed throughout the land, not only amongst the dislodged monks and the beggars, but amongst the rich and the noble, who disapproved of Henry's wholesale destruction of the religious houses which their ancestors had founded and endowed, and within whose walls so many of their progenitors lay. In the following year the discontent blazed up into insurrection in Lincolnshire, sixty thousand men

ranging themselves under Friar Makarel, who assumed the name of Captain Cobbler, and Nicholas Melton, of Louth, but was suppressed, and the leaders executed. It assumed, however, a much more formidable shape in East Yorkshire, under the captainship of Aske, of Aughton, near Howden. The insurgents, who called themselves "The Pilgrims of Grace," raised their banner painted with the five wounds of Christ, and proclaimed their objects to be: 1. The restoration of the religious houses; 2. Remission of the recently made subsidy; 3. Exemption of the clergy from the payment of first-fruits and tenths to the crown; 4. The removal of villein blood from the Privy Council; and 5. The deposition and punishment of Bishops Cranmer, Latimer, Hilsey, Brown, and Longlands. They gained possession of the important towns of York, Hull, Beverley, Pontefract, and Scarborough, but not of Scarborough Castle. They were abetted and aided by Edward, Archbishop of York, Lord D'Arcy, and many other noblemen and gentlemen of Yorkshire, and marched southward; but when they came to Doncaster, they were unable to pass, on account of the swollen state of the river, whilst on the other side lay the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Shrewsbury, with an army sent by the king to suppress the rebellion. Thus passed several days, with repeated parleys, and in the end Aske's followers, under promise of pardons and a redress of grievances, melted away. The next year, the king not having kept his promises, a second rising was organized at Settrington, on the Yorkshire Wolds, but it was a madly-conceived and unskilfully-conducted scheme, and was soon put down, and the leaders hung in various towns and cities.

Amongst the adherents of the Pilgrims of Grace were the heads of most of the great northern monasteries, either as silent approvers or active participators. The Abbots of Fountains and Rievaulx, the Prior of Bridlington, a monk of Jervaulx, and the Abbot of Whalley (a near neighbour of Furness), were all hung for the part they took in the rebellion. The Abbot of Furness was also implicated to some extent, and was sent with two of his monks to Lancaster Castle by the Earl of Sussex, but escaped the halter. He was cited to Whalley Abbey, perhaps taken thither from prison to undergo a second examination, after Paslew, the Abbot of Whalley, had suffered, where he underwent a rigorous interrogation, was bullied, cajoled, and threatened, with the usual result—a promise of a formal surrender of the abbey into the king's hands—and a few days afterwards was compelled to execute the following humiliating Deed of Surrender:—

"To all Christian people, to whom these presents shall come, I, Roger, by Divine Providence, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Mary of Furness, in the county of Lancaster, and the Convent of the said Monastery send greeting:

"Know ye, that we, the said Abbot and Convent, by our unanimous and full assent and consent, divers special considerations moving us interiorly therein, as also for the use and defence of this kingdom, and for the good and safe government of these extreme parts of the said kingdom, have freely given, granted, and surrendered up into the hands of the lord the King that now is, Henry VIII., by the Grace of God, King of England, &c., our Monastery of Furness, aforesaid, as also the site and foundation of the same; and all goods and chattels, jewels and church ornaments, belonging to the said Monastery; and all dues, actions, and other things whatsoever appertaining, belonging, or due to us or any of us, or to the said Monastery; and also all manner of demesnes, castles, manors, lands, tenements, advowsons of churches and chantries, knights' fees, rents, reversions, liberties, and services; with all and all manner of our inheritances in Yorkshire, Lancashire, or elsewhere within the kingdom of England, in Ireland, or the Isle of Man; to have and to hold all and singular the said Monastery's demesnes, castles, &c., and all other our hereditaments and premises whatsoever, to our said lord the King, and his heirs, Kings of England for ever, in augmentation and increase of the honour of his Royal Majesty, and of his heirs, &c., and for the use and defence of this kingdom, against its enemies and rebels. And moreover we will and desire and unanimously give full consent and grant by these presents, that this our present act, may be enrolled as well in the Court of Chancery of the Duchy of Lancaster, of our said lord the King, and in his own Court held before his Justices in the county of Lancaster, as in the Court of Chancery of the said lord the King, held at Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, before the said lord the King, and before his Justices there.

"In witness whereof we have, of our unanimous and full assent and consent to these presents, affixed our common seal. Given in our Chapter House of the said Monastery, the ninth of April, in the twenty-eighth year of our said lord the King, and in the year of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ one thousand five hundred and thirty-seven.

"By me, ROGER, Abbot of Furness.

By me, BRIAND GARNER, Prior.

Here follow the signatures of twenty-eight monks.

"Sealed and delivered in presence of us, the day and year above specified.—Robert Sussex, Anthony Fitzherbert, Thomas Boteler, Thomas Langton, Ryc. Houghton, John Byson, John Caydon (Priest), Marmaduke Turner."

The estimated annual value of the revenues of the abbey amounted to £805 16s. 5d. gross, or £766 7s. 10d. net, which was exclusive of the woods, pastures, meadows, and fisheries cultivated by the convent, and the mills, mines, and salt-works belonging to and worked by the abbey. The abbot and monks were granted pensions out of the estates, of which £75 were payable sixteen years afterwards. There were in the house at the dissolution thirty-three monks and one hundred and forty converts and servants.

Abbot Pyle was also presented to the Rectory of Dalton, value £33 6s. 9d. per annum, but it appears that he was not allowed to enjoy even this small pittance without attempts at extortion, to be averted by bribery, as is shown in a letter he addressed to Cromwell.—

"Advertysing you," he writes, "that I have receyved your honourable letter, dated the 31st. day of December, last past, to me addressed, for one lease of the parsonage of Dalton, to be made unto John Bothe, servant to the Kyng's Highnes, wherin I most humbly besech your good Lordshipe to be my good Lorde, and to have me excused, and to consider that I have nothing ellse for my hoole lyvinge; and I have sent unto your Lordshipe for a small token forty shillings in golde; and that it may please your goodness that I may have your favourable letters to be in quiet and peas with my saul benefice without further suite for the same to be made, I shall send unto your Lordshipe, at Easter, of such profites as shall grow due to me then, for a small rewarde, after my power four pounds, as knoweth Almighty Jhesu, who ever have your good Lordshipe in his blessed tucione."

No sooner were the monks cleared out than the commissioners at once dismantled the abbey, sold all the chattels, living and dead, both at home and at the granges, cattle, timber, lead from the roofs, bells, and indeed everything that could be carried away, and then left the abbey buildings and church to plunder and destruction, human and elemental.

It is recorded that a Cumberland knight, Sir Thomas Curwen, having pleased King Henry by his feats in archery, the king said to him: "Curwen, why doth thee beg none of these Abbeyes? I would gratifie thee some way." Quoth the other: "Thank yow," and afterwards said "he would desire of him th' abbei of Ffurneis (nye unto him) for 20ty one years." Says the king, "Take it for ever." Quoth the other: "It's long enough, for youle set them up again in that time." So he had a grant of the abbey for twenty-one years, and at the expiration of the period, as the abbeyes had not been "set up again," he sent a Mr. Preston, who had married his daughter, to get a renewal of the lease, who craftily had the lease made out in his own name instead of that of his father-in-law.

The Prestons were an ancient knightly family seated at Preston Richard and Preston Patrick, in Westmoreland, from time immemorial, the former of which passed from the Preston family by the marriage of a coheiress of Sir Richard de Preston, whilst Preston Patrick passed to his brother Sir John. Sir Thomas, his great grandson, who died in 1523, purchased estates in Furness of the value of £3,000 per annum. He married Ann, daughter of William Thornhaugh, fifteenth in descent from William the Conqueror, and had, with other issue, the above-mentioned John Preston, of Preston Patrick, of Under Levins Hall, and Furness Abbey, which he obtained as stated above, having married (his first wife) Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Curwen, of Workington, Cumberland. He built a manor-house upon the site of the abbot's house, the abbey supplying the materials, and there took up his residence. He was Sheriff of Lancashire in 1569, and died leaving three sons and one daughter. His great grandson, John, an adherent to King Charles in the Civil War, was by that monarch created, 1644, a Baronet, by the style and title of Sir John Preston, of the Manor of Furness, and died a few years after in consequence of a wound he received in battle. His second son, Sir Thomas, succeeded his brother, who died *cal.*, as third baronet. He was a Catholic priest, but obtained a dispensation to allow him to marry, which he did, and had issue a son, who died young, and two daughters. In 1673, on the death of his wife, he settled his Westmoreland and Northamptonshire estates upon his daughter, and the manor and abbey of

Furness upon the Jesuits, and retired to a monastery in Flanders, where he died *circa* 1710, and the baronetcy became extinct. The legality of the grant to the Jesuits being disputed, a lawsuit ensued, when the grant was pronounced to be illegal, and it was adjudged that the estate became forfeited to the crown. It was then granted on a long lease to the Prestons of Holker, another branch of the family, who had been instrumental in proving the illegality of the transfer.

Catherine, daughter and heiress of Thomas Preston, of Holker, married Sir William Lowther, created a Baronet 1697, and died 1704, to whom succeeded his son, Sir Thomas, who married the Lady Elizabeth, daughter of William Cavendish, second Duke of Devonshire, and died in 1745. The lease of Furness Abbey having expired, and fallen in to the crown, King George I. made a grant of it to Sir Thomas. He was followed by his son, Sir William, third baronet, who dying *cal.* the baronetcy became extinct. He bequeathed the abbey and his estates in Furness and Cartmel to his cousin Lord George Augustus Cavendish, from whom they passed to his brother Lord Frederick, and from him to his nephew, Lord George Augustus Henry Cavendish, who was created Earl of Burlington.

The liberty and lordship remained in the hands of the crown until the Restoration, and were then (in 1662) granted by Charles II., to Monk, Duke of Albermarle, for his services in the restoration of monarchy, carrying with them all the rights, privileges, and jurisdiction of the monastic Lords. George Monk had an only son Christopher, second Duke, who married the Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, and died issueless, when the dukedom became extinct. His widow married secondly, Ralph Montagu, Duke of Montagu, as his second wife, but had no issue, but the lordship seems to have devolved, through her, upon her stepson, John Montagu, second Duke, who died without male issue, when the title became extinct; but he left two daughters, coheirresses, the younger of whom, the Lady Mary, married George Brudenell, fourth Earl of Cardigan, who was created Duke of Montagu, but dying without surviving male issue, the dukedom again became extinct. His only surviving daughter and heiress, Elizabeth, in 1769 married Henry Scott, third Duke of Buccleuch, in whose family the lordship is still vested.

The seal pendant from the deed of surrender to the British Museum, is slightly oval in shape, with a figure of the Virgin Mary and the infant Saviour in her arms, beneath a canopy of three compartments, the centre with a background of stars, and the other of sprigs of the deadly nightshade, holding in suspension two shields, each charged with three lions passant gardant. The head of the Virgin is surrounded by an aureole, and she holds in her hand a globe, typical of her queenship of the world. Below, and supporting the shields, are two monks, and before each sprigs of nightshade, and underneath a wyvern, which latter device is supposed to have been assumed in honour of Thomas Plantagenet, second Earl of Lancaster. Around the rim runs the legend—"SIGILLUM . COMMUNE . DOMUS . BEATE . MARIE . DE . FURNESIO."

The Ruins of the Abbey.

Edward, now Sir Edward, Baines, of Leeds, in his *Companion to the Lakes*, thus describes the ruins as he saw them in 1829. "I turned from the high road into a lane shaded by oaks, running down a narrow valley or glen, called the Glen of the Deadly Nightshade, and at the bottom of the glen, under the solemn shade of majestic forest trees, I came upon the ruins of the famous Abbey of Furness. I beheld it standing with a grassy area in front, and enclosed on each side by noble groves of plane-trees, ash and elm. Though much shattered, and having lost the central tower, it is still magnificent and extensive. Lofty walls and arches, clustered columns, and longdrawn aisles remain; and the fine symmetry and noble proportions of the arches, contrast most picturesquely with the rifts and fissures of the pile. The former extent of the building may, in some degree, be judged of when I state that what remains measures five hundred feet from north to south, and three hundred

feet from east to west. The abbey lies in a nook, apparently so secluded, that it might be deemed the utmost corner of the earth; but you have only to ascend the hills on either side, and you look ahead on the wide world embracing all the extent of sea and land visible from the shore, and of the Bay of Morecambe. The college and school-house are the most complete apartments remaining; the former has an arched roof still quite perfect, its tall, narrow windows have no arch, but terminate upward in the shape of a pediment. The school-house is equally perfect, but is smaller and less ornamental. In the wall at the right of the window, in the chancel, are four stalls, with a fretted canopy, where the priests sat at intervals during the service of mass, and both its rows of pillars are gone; their bases, which remain, shew that the pillars were alternately round and clustered. Four statues of admirable workmanship,



GUEST HOUSE CHAPEL

two of marble and two of stone, are shewn to the visitor; one is in chain armour; two others are also in armour, and the fourth is a lady; they are in the recumbent posture, and have lain upon sepulchral monuments. Near the central tower are three chapels, with pavements of ornamental brick-work, and traces of altars. At the western end of the church is a winding staircase, still perfect, ascending to the top of the buildings, from whence you have an interesting view of the ruin. The head of Stephen, the founder of the abbey, and that of Maud, his queen, both crowned, are seen on the outside of the eastern window."

At the time when Baines was penning these lines, there was a mighty work in course of construction in another part of Lancashire, which was destined, in its results, entirely to destroy that remote and happy seclusion which he describes as a special characteristic of the abbey. That work was the bridging over of Chat Moss, by George Stephenson, to unite Liverpool and Manchester by means of a railroad. Payne, in his history of the abbey, writes, "What William Wordsworth groundlessly feared for the Lake District, happened a few years ago in all its horror to Furness Abbey. A railway was made to violate the slumberous repose of the Valley of Nightshade, and that with every circumstance of Gothic ferocity to enhance the crime; its sleepers were laid down within a few feet of the spot where the mailed Barons of Kendal had hoped to find an undisturbed resting-place; its engines were made to

whirl by in sight of the high altar, and its whistle to shriek where echo for many centuries had only returned the triumphant notes of the Jubilate, or the solemn requiem for the dead; while the beacon, which had been wont to flash its signal-fire all over the lordship from the Langdale to the sea, was ruthlessly cut through; and the very abbot's house itself transformed in an hotel upon a railway."

This is very true, but the exigences of commerce necessitated a railway, for the purpose of connecting the great iron-smelting town of Barrow, which has sprung up in modern times with such marvellous rapidity, with the outer world, and it became indispensable that sentimentality should give way to the requirements of industrial progress. It must be admitted, too, that the railway company, in the erection of the "Furness Abbey Station," and the adjoining hotel, have displayed great good taste in making them correspond architecturally with the ruins. They are rich in oak carvings and sculptured decorations. In the sitting-room of the hotel there are two sculptured bas-reliefs from the abbey, representing Mary wiping the feet of our Saviour, and the woman with the issue of blood touching his garment; and John the Baptist and John the Beloved Disciple, with Latin inscriptions; and in the coffee-room there is a very rude and antique sculpture in red freestone, delineating the making of Eve out of one of the ribs of Adam.

The ruins are of vast extent, in one place covering the entire breadth of the abbey, and yielding only to Fountains of the English Cistercian houses. They are luxuriantly covered with ivy, "which clings everywhere to the mouldering walls, above the chapter house, along the broken height of the refectory, and in and out the vacant windows of the church and dormitory. From the crannies of the chancel walls, and from niches that were once tenanted, perhaps, by effigies of saints and kings, droops the feathery fern; upon the stony tombs of knights and abbots spread the moss and lichen; while round about the ruined bases grows the herb of evil omen from which the valley takes its name. Nature has set her carpet over all, of green grass, and only in one or two spots, alas! in the whole building is found any roof but hers; while in the blue sky or the grey, in sunshine or in mist, a colony of chattering rooks are ever wheeling above the ruined choir."

What was the plan and style of the first buildings erected in the third decade of the twelfth century we know not, as they have entirely disappeared; but they would be Norman in style, or what it is now becoming the fashion to call Romanesque, as that style prevailed from 1066 to 1145, when it gave way to the Transitional. The plan, arrangement of buildings, and architectural details would follow those of the Benedictines, who made great use of sculptured figures and grotesque heads, whilst the Cistercians were much more simple, depending upon the curvature of their lines, the symmetry of their proportions, and the elegance of their mouldings for a *tout ensemble* of beauty and grace, rejecting almost altogether, in their early days, sculptured ornaments. In the former the tower was lofty and majestic; in the latter low and stunted, generally consisting of one story above the roof of the church. The existing buildings were commenced under the abbacy of John de Cauncefield (1152-1175), and are an almost perfect example of the Transitional style which prevailed from 1145 to 1190, but they exhibit also specimens of the Early English, the Geometrical, and the Rectilinear, in additions made afterwards. Although the roof, and the greater portion of the arches, walls, and piers have been destroyed, yet such fragments as remain are sufficient to indicate what they were, and we are enabled, by analogy, to restore the entire design with the exception of the eastern and western fronts; the western tower having obliterated the latter, and the prolongation of the choir the former. The style altogether was simple and plain, but dignified, not florid or decorated. The masonry was exceedingly good; the superstructure of the western tower, which fell, being of such strongly-cemented materials that it was necessary to use gunpowder to reduce it to fragments for the purpose of removal.

The boundary wall of the abbey precincts enclosed an area of sixty-five acres, with the

church as its centre, around which were grouped the residential, administrative, eleemosynary, reception, and other customary buildings of a large monastic establishment; whilst on the margin stood the guest house; beyond the stream, the infirmary; and in the more remote portions, the mills, kilns, ovens, and fishponds, the latter being still traceable on the south, although filled up with rubbish.

The arrangement of the building was in accordance with rules laid down for the Cistercian Order. South of the nave of the church was the cloister court; running southward from the transept was the great block of buildings constituting the chapter house, refectory, etc., and still further south the guest house, or, as it is sometimes called, the college and school. The kitchens lie eastward of the refectory, stretching to the brook for the purpose of water supply, and a means of disposing of kitchen refuse; whilst beyond, on the other side of the brook, but quite apart from it, was the infirmary. There are indications of buildings like an extension of the west wing of the cloisters as far as the boundary, and to the west of this the novitiate. The abbot's house appears to have been on the north-west, it is conjectured on the spot now occupied by the railway hotel, and near it is what is called the abbot's chapel. On the north was the principal entrance and porter's lodge, and besides this there were other gateways leading to the sea, the beacon, etc. The cemetery also lay north of the church.

The church was built in the usual Cistercian style of a Latin cross, with a central tower of one story. The main portions are purely Transitional of the twelfth century, but there are other parts of after styles, chiefly Rectilinear, added early in the sixteenth century, when it appears that the east end and parts of the transepts were rebuilt, the former extended, and the north and south ends of the transept ornamented with elaborately decorated windows; a belfry was also built at the west end, apparently to ease the central tower of the weight of the bells. The central tower was supported on four magnificent arches, resting on three clustered and one plain pillar, one of which is still (1835) standing. The western tower was a massive structure, with walls eleven feet in thickness, and supported by six-staged buttresses eight feet broad. It had a rectilinear window thirty-three feet in height, of which only the opening remains, and handsome and lofty side windows. The extreme length of the church was three hundred and four feet; that of the choir sixty feet by twenty-eight in width; the transepts one hundred and thirty feet in length by twenty-eight in width; the nave and side aisles seventy-eight feet wide, and the walls fifty-four feet in height. The nave has two side aisles of eight bays, with formerly a ninth which was absorbed in the belfry. The pillars of the nave are alternately circular and eight-clustered, those of the transept are all clustered. The four tower arches, the pier arches of the nave and transept, the vaulting of the side aisles of the nave and of the transeptal chapels are all pointed; whilst the triforium arches are rounded, as are also the clerestory windows above. The two western pillars of the towers are supported by more recently built buttresses, for the purpose of strengthening them. The south wall of the nave alone is standing, with a doorway into the quadrangle. In the northern aisle is a platform, presumably the floor of a chapel, and at the west end the remains of a spiral stair leading to the belfry. The bases of the pillars remain, but nothing more. The north wall was four feet in thickness, with nine round-headed windows, with intervening external buttresses. The aisles were groined with stone, but the roof of the nave itself was of timber. A diagonal moulding in the transept shows the slope of the roof of the aisles, which were twenty-six feet in height from the bottom to the top of the vaulting.

The chancel walls were five feet thick and sixty feet high. It was lighted by a great eastern window of seven lights, forty-seven feet in height by twenty-three feet and a half in breadth, and filled with painted glass, representing the Crucifixion, with the Virgin on one side and the Beloved Disciple on the other, and filled up with other scriptural subjects and the coats of arms of benefactors. The greater portion of the glass is now in one of the

windows of Bowness Church. Outside the window, under an arched festoon, are the crowned heads of King Stephen and Queen Maud, and some grotesque corbels. In front stood the high altar, with a circumambulatory of six feet in breadth. In the south wall were four sedilia, richly canopied, delicately groined, and profusely ornamented with crockets and finials, for the priests' use during the celebration of mass, with another larger niche which held the piscina, and two smaller ones to hold napkins for use after ablution. The floor was decorated with encaustic tiles, and the altar stood on a platform raised from the floor, twelve feet and a half in length by four feet in breadth.

Midway in the transept was the choir, with screens north and south, whose bases may still be seen. At each end were five windows, the northern thirty feet by seventeen and a half, and beneath it the principal entrance to the church, but not placed centrally, which gives the front a deformed aspect. The window, as well as that at the south end, is in the perpendicular style, but the entrance is semicircular-headed, and once had a porch, fragments of which are left. It is lighted by six other windows, two pairs one above the other in the western wall, and one pair in the eastern clerestory. Near the pulpit at the intersection are some finely sculptured panels, which, when found, were gilded. There were five chapels on the eastern side, three in the south, and two in the north, entered under pointed arches, of which little more than the foundations remain; they were raised two steps from the transept, and had each an altar and piscina. Those in the northern belonged to the Barons of Kendal, and had richly ornamented doorways. That adjoining the chancel in the south, which is fifty feet by sixteen feet six inches, was converted into the sacristy and vestiary. At the southern end are steps leading to the dormitories and the scriptorium, and in the north-west corner a staircase communicating with the tower and the triforium. There was also another door on the east side of the south transept, which led to the orchard lying between it and the brook, but now without trees. The font is now in Dalton Church.

The sepulchral remains of Furness are numerous and interesting. It was the burial-place of the De Lancasters, Barons of Kendal, the Le Flemings, the Lords of Aldingham, and other notable Furness families, who reposed in the church, in the privileged cemetery eastward of the church, and in the general cemetery to the north, whilst several of the monkish fraternity sleep in the cloister quadrangle. In the middle space of the church over the Kendal vault is an effigy of a cross-legged knight, supposed to be that of the crusader, the third William de Lancaster, eighth Baron of Kendal, who died in 1246. There are two others in quilted armour, with triangular shields and barred helmets; one supposed to be that of Reginald, King of Man, slain in battle in 1228, another of a lady in fourteenth century costume; a mutilated figure of a deacon, in surplice; two weather-worn figures of knights in thirteenth century armour; one of Richard, Bishop of Sodor and Man; and many ridged slabs with variously shaped crosses, some of which have inscriptions more or less obliterated, among which are "*Domina Xtina secunda; Adam de Griholm; Rogerus de Hoylandia; jacet Godith; Hic jacet Ana....t Flandren ;nus Robertus des Furnessi quint; Hic jacet Wile'us Graindeorge;*" etc. In the northern cemetery have been found gravestones and fragments in abundance, and some twenty stone coffins.

The cloister court, south of the church nave, was quadrangular in form, the cloisters forming an arcade of pillared arches running entirely round it. On the east side were three fine Norman archways, the central one opening into the chapter house, and the others forming vaulted recesses. It was used as a graveyard for the monks, with all the slabs laid flat, so that the monks might not be impeded in walking over the remains of their predecessors, and meditating on the future when they themselves should lie there. It is in a state of complete ruin.

The chapter house, an oblong of sixty feet by forty-five feet six inches, was the only building in the abbey marked by any great elegance of Gothic architecture. It had a vaulted

roof of twelve ribbed arches supported by six pillars in two rows, with clustered shafts. It is transitional in style, with the walls wrought into compartments, and pierced by lancet windows, three on the east, two on the south, and one on the north. The entrance vestibule from the cloister court is still standing, with a round-headed archway beautified with a deep cornice, and a portico on each side. The roof fell in about the middle of the last century, but the debris on the floor shews the beautiful lines of which it was composed. Adjoining the chapter house is the penitential cell, to which the refractory brethren were sent after examination before the chapter.

The refectory was a noble apartment, two hundred feet long, and thirty-one feet broad, with a vaulted roof, supported by a central row of ten octagonal pillars. At the north end is a low wall separating a small portion of the room, supposed to have been a dais which the abbot occupied when he dined with the monks. Eastward it communicated with the kitchen, buttery, larders, etc. On the walls was inscribed the usual quotation from St. Bernard, "Bonum est nos sic esse, etc."

Over the refectory was the principal dormitory, with a timber roof and lancet windows, but altogether destitute of ornament. Another dormitory was over the cloisters, and one for secular servants over the kitchen. The entrance to the monks' dormitories was by steps from the south-western corner of the quadrangle.

The library and scriptorium were over the chapter house and vestibule, entered by steps from the church transept. They formed a long, low room, with broad lancet windows, and without adornment.

In the extreme south was a fine building, consisting of a magnificent hall, one hundred and thirty-nine feet by fifty, and forty feet high, which has now disappeared, and a chapel, forty-three feet by twenty-five, with a vestibule entrance, and a circular staircase, lighted by semicircular openings, with sculptured sills, leading to a series of upper rooms, which seem to have been sleeping chambers. The chapel and vestibule remain—the only portion of the ruins with an entire roof. The former is lighted by an eastern window with depressed arch, a transitional step to the Tudoresque, and three others of remarkable design with acute angle heads, met with nowhere else excepting in Hereford Cathedral. The vaulting springs from slender shafts, and has slabs of slate stone between the ribs. Round the wall a stone seat runs, fourteen inches broad. This building has generally been denominated the guest house, which it most probably was, but some recent excavations, on the extreme west of the enclosure, have laid bare the foundations of a building with a row of columns down the centre, which has led some antiquaries to suppose that this was the guest-hall, and that the former building was the collegiate school of the abbey.

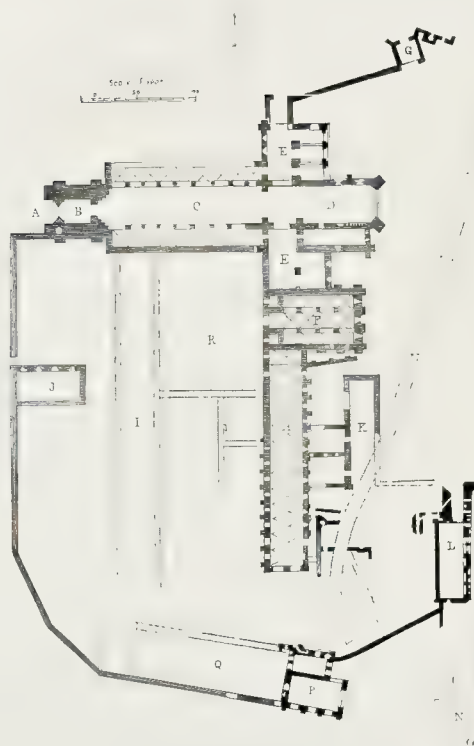
The infirmary and chapel, of the geometrical period, lie eastward of the brook, and are in a tolerable state of preservation.

North of the church is a chapel of the early Geometrical style, with an eastern opening, where was a large window and two side windows of lancets and foliated circles. It is usually called the abbot's chapel, but more probably was the chapel for wayfarers. Southward and westward are heaps of undistinguishable ruins, which doubtless are those of the frater, the novitiate, the locutorium, and other invariable appendages of a Cistercian abbey.

Professor Wilson ("Christopher North," of *Blackwood's Magazine*), resided for some time on the shore of Windermere, and was reckoned at one time as one of the group of Lake poets, was a frequent wanderer amongst the Fells of Furness and in the precincts of the abbey, delighting in the picturesque scenery of the district and in the associations of the past history of the peninsula, which inspired him with a theme for one of his beautiful poems. In it he depicted the affecting story of May, "The Flower of Furness," and of Le Fleming, the Crusading Knight, who fell in the war of the Roses, fighting on the Lancastrian side, the scene of which is partly laid in the abbey and its neighbourhood, and whose sister, the

Lady Blanche, caused his effigy to be sculptured and placed over his tomb in the choir of the abbey church.

"O, sight forlorn and yet so fair
In ruin, that transfixed there,
I gazed, until I seemed to stand
Upon a strange unearthly land,
Between the dying and the dead!
So many centuries o'er my head
Their solemn shade in silence spread,
So ample was the drear around,
The desolation was profound."

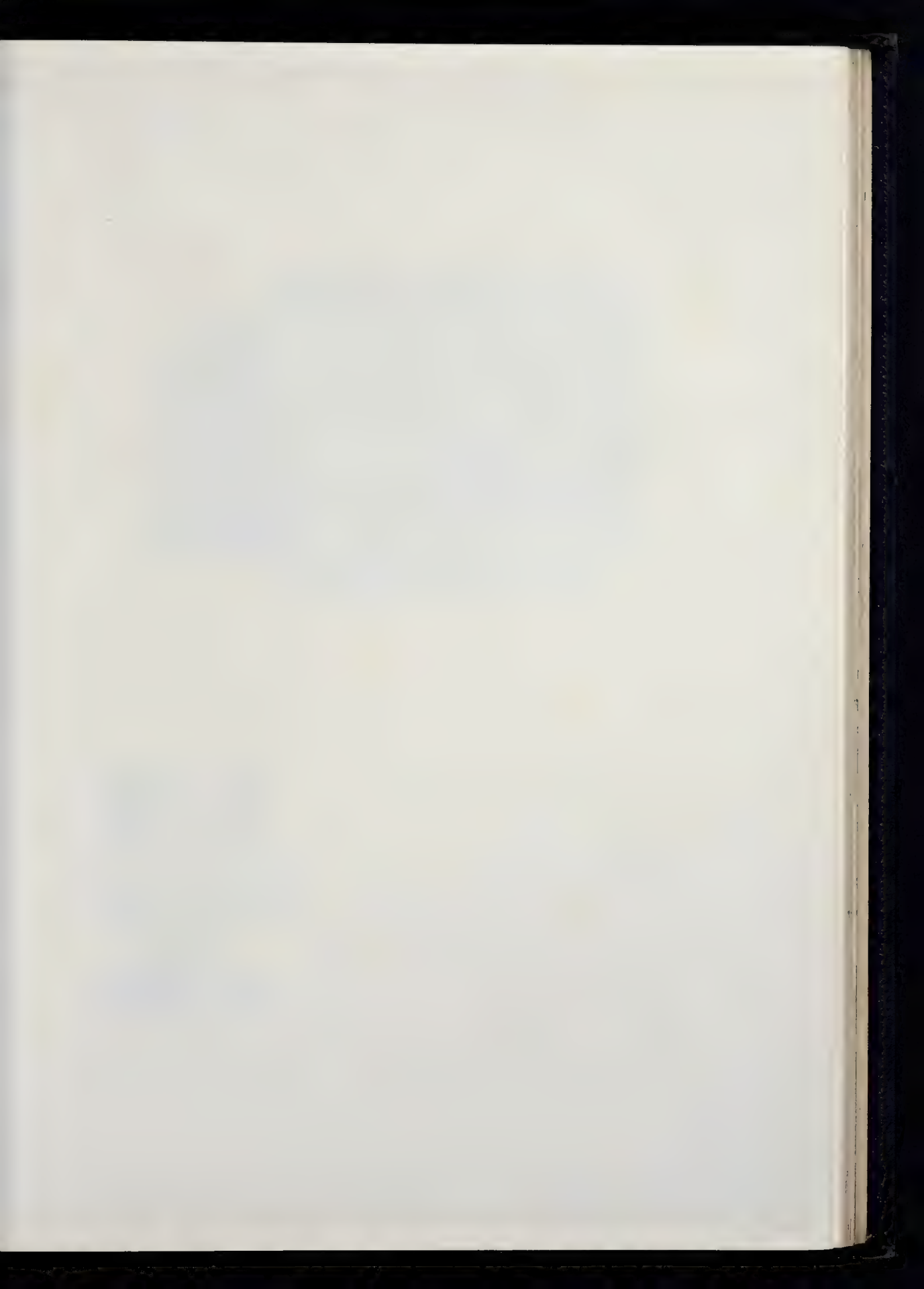


GROUND PLAN OF FURNESS ABBEY

- | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| A. West Entrance. | G. Porter's Lodge. | M. Brook |
| B. The Water Tower | H. Refectory, etc. | N. Mill. |
| C. Nave. | I. Western Wing. | O. Oven. |
| D. Choir. | J. Nave. | P. Guest House Chapel. |
| E. North and South Transept. | K. Kitchen. | Q. Guest House. |
| F. Chapter House. | L. Dormitory. | R. Cloister. |









FROM THE NORTH-EAST, AS IT APPEARED BEFORE THE TOWER FELL.

The Benedictine Abbey of Whitby.

The Columban Abbey of Streoneshalh.



THE history of the original abbey of Whitby, or Streoneshalh, is so intimately interwoven with that of the establishment of Christianity in that portion of England lying north of the Humber, that it will be necessary, for the full understanding thereof, to give a preliminary sketch of that event.

Eadwin was the son of Ælla, the founder of the Saxon kingdom of Deira, or South Northumbria, the contemporary of Ida, founder of that of Bernicia, or North Northumbria. He was but three years of age at his father's death, when Ethelfrid, King of Bernicia, his brother-in-law, usurped the throne of Deira, and became sole King of Northumbria. He sought also to destroy the young prince, who was secretly carried away by his friends, and was a wandering fugitive for many years. At length he excited the compassion of Redwald, King of the East Angles, who overthrew and slew Ethelfrid in battle, and placed Eadwin on the united throne of Northumbria, where he proved himself to be an able and vigorous monarch, and eventually became Bretwalda of the Heptarchy. He married Æthelburga, a Christian princess, daughter

of Æthelbert, King of Kent. There was some reluctance on the part of the Kentish court to ally the princess with a pagan king; but "hee was so farre ouergone and ravished with the virgin's beauty, that hee condescended shee should, with her place, retaine her owne Christian profession." She brought along with her to the north Paulinus, a Romish missionary priest, who married her to Eadwin, the Pope sending her as a marriage present a silver mirror and a gilt ivory comb, the latter of which was found in 1872 in a field near Whitby, having probably come into the possession of the Abbess Hilda.

Eadwin had many conversations with Paulinus and his queen, and at length said:—"If your God will grant me a victory over Cuichhelm of Wessex, whose realm I am about to invade, I will take the matter into serious consideration." He was victorious, and immediately after his return summoned a Witanagemot at York, or more probably at Londesborough, over which he presided. Not far distant, at Goodmandingham, was a magnificent temple of Odin, with a gigantic statue of the god, of which Coiffi was high priest. This Coiffi was the chief speaker at the assembly. "I have long been of opinion, O king!" said he, "that our gods are worthless, and I now perceive that He of whom Paulinus tells us is the only true God, the creator of the world," etc. The king acquiesced in his remarks, and the nobles, taking their cue from these leaders of thought, gave in their assent; and it was decided that the great temple should be desecrated. "But who will dare to do it?" enquired the king. "I," replied Coiffi; "I have spent my life hitherto at the altar of that false god, and it is fitting that I should overturn his altar." A day was fixed for the deposition of Odin, when the king, with Paulinus, Coiffi, and a following of nobles repaired to Goodmandingham, where they found a crowd of trembling peasants gathered together to witness some terrible judgment of Odin on the perpetrators of the sacrilegious act. Coiffi was mounted on a stallion, spear in hand (the priests of Odin being permitted to ride mares only, and not to carry arms under any pretence). The sun was shining brightly, and all nature wore a serene aspect, as Coiffi rode boldly into the temple and hurled his spear at the idol, where it remained quivering in his side, whilst the awe-stricken crowd momentarily expected some terrific vengeance from the insulted god; but the skies did not blacken with thunder-clouds, nor did the earth open to swallow up the perpetrators of the impious deed. The sun shone on as usual, the wooden god made no sign, and the people dispersed, saying amongst themselves, "surely Odin cannot be a god if he is unable to defend himself;" and shortly after thousands of their class submitted to the rite of baptism.

This occurred in the year 627, and soon afterwards the king and court, including a little princess named Hilda, whom we shall meet with again, were baptized. Paulinus was constituted Archbishop of York, and a wooden church was extemporised, followed by one of stone, to serve as the cathedral, which was commenced by Eadwin and completed by Oswald.

At this time there reigned in the neighbouring kingdom of Mercia, Penda, a bigoted and ferocious pagan, who was exasperated to fury by the desecration of the temple of his god at Goodmandingham, and, jealous perhaps of Eadwin's supremacy as Bretwalda, made a vow to slay the Northumbrian king, and extirpate the new and false religion. He allied himself with Cadwallon, a Welsh prince, who wished for vengeance against Eadwin for invading his territories and subduing them to his supremacy, and against the Northumbrians generally for their slaughter of the Bangor monks under Æthelfrid; and together they invaded Northumbria, met Eadwin at Heathfield (Hatfield), near Doncaster, and in the battle which ensued the latter was defeated and slain. Paulinus and the queen and royal family fled to Kent, Christianity was trampled out, and a period of chaos ensued, during which Cadwallon ruled the country with oppressive tyranny.

Osric and Eanfrid were, by the Saxons, proclaimed kings, the former of Bernicia, the latter of Deira, both of whom renounced Christianity, but were put to death by Cadwallon.

In 635 Oswald, brother to Eanfrid, and nephew to Eadwin, who had been in exile

among the Scots, and had imbibed the principles of Christianity from the Culdees of Iona, came to Northumbria, raised an army, slew Cadwallon at the battle of Denisbourn, and ascended the Northumbrian throne. He, who was a man of great piety, and sainted after death, found the Northumbrians had apostatized and reverted to paganism; and sent to Iona for missionaries to re-evangelize his kingdom, when Aidan and a body of monks were sent, and the former made Bishop of the newly constituted see of Lindisfarne. This was an important event, as leading to the great synod held in the abbey of Streoneshalh.

The missionaries from Iona were successful in re-establishing Christianity in Northumbria, but of a different type to that of Paulinus. It was based on the primitive Christianity of the Britons, as received from the hands of wandering apostles, before the now dominant Church of Rome had assumed its supremacy over Christendom. Churches were erected and monasteries established after the fashion of that of Iona, and it seemed as if Christianity had become the national religion. But Penda was still living, and he, hearing of this revival of Christianity across the border, again began to assemble an army to crush it at once and for ever. Oswald, however, was not to be intimidated, and, gathering his forces together, he marched into Mercia, to anticipate the pagans' invasion. He met the army of Penda at Oswestry (which derives its name from Oswald), or, as some say, in Lancashire, and was defeated and slain, Penda again offering up thanksgivings to Odin for giving him the victory over the foes of his faith.

On the death of St. Oswald, his half brother Oswy, an illegitimate son of Æthelfrid, succeeded to the throne of Northumbria; but Oswin, son of Osric, the apostate King of Deira, disputed his right to the throne on the ground of illegitimacy, and being backed by a numerous body of friends, Oswy agreed to a compromise, he taking Bernicia and Oswin Deira; but seven years after, Oswy caused Oswin to be murdered, and annexed Deira. He proved himself to be an able monarch, regulated the distracted affairs of his kingdom, was a great warrior, extending the boundaries of his kingdom, and a liberal patron of monks and ecclesiastics. The hoary old pagan of Mercia, however, could not stand by and witness this frustration of his hopes of extirpating the nascent Christianity of Northumbria, and he prepared a large army, with which he entered Northumbria. Oswy also made preparations to meet him, but with a very inferior force; and perceiving how vastly the chances, in a human point of view, were against him, he appealed to heaven for aid, and made a vow that if God would give him the victory he would erect twelve religious houses, and devote his infant daughter, Ælfleda, to perpetual chastity and the service of God. In 655 the armies met at Winwinfield, near Leeds, where Oswy obtained a decisive victory, and Penda was slain, this battle being the last fought in England between the upholders of the rival faiths. It is said that in performance of his vow he founded twelve monastic houses and the cathedral of Lichfield, and jointly with Wulfhere, King of Mercia and son of Penda, established the Abbey of Medehamstede (Peterborough); the first of these being the abbey of Streoneshalh.

Streoneshalh lay at the outfall of the Esk into the German Ocean, and at this time was a small village, probably a mere clustering of a few fishermen's huts, which, judging from the name, had sprung up in the Saxon age, and was not known to the Romans, but about three miles north-westward was Dunsley Bay—the *Dunum sinus* of Ptolemy, whence a Roman road ran across the moor to York. It was flanked on the south by a lofty cliff, which then extended about a mile further into the sea than it does at present, and was backed by extensive moors. The lands about Streoneshalh were a demesne of the crown, and there upon the cliff King Eadwin, about the year 630, built a church for the use of the fishermen in the valley below, which was dedicated to St. Peter, as was the cathedral he had commenced building at York, in which church his body was buried, and his head in the unfinished cathedral. On the extremity of the cliff there had been a watch-tower from the earliest times of the Saxons, to keep a look out for the approach of foes, and at night, perhaps, to serve as a pharos for seamen.

In the neighbourhood of this church of St. Peter, in 657, he commenced the erection of his monastery of St. Peter, constituted the Princess Hilda first abbess, and made over to her the whole of the demesne of Streoneshalh for the maintenance of the house.

The Princess Hilda is popularly called St. Hilda, but however deserving of the title, she was never canonized. She was of the royal race of *Ælla*, the daughter of Hereric (who was seated at Streoneshalh), by his wife, the amiable and virtuous Lady Breguswith; was born in the year 614, and died in 680. Who Hereric was does not clearly appear; sometimes he is said to be the brother, sometimes the nephew, and sometimes the grandson of King Eadwin. That he was the latter is manifestly absurd, as Eadwin was but three years of age on the death of his father in 588, and it is scarcely probable that his grandson would have a daughter born in 614; the probability is that he was a younger brother of Eadwin, or possibly a cousin. He had another daughter, the elder sister of Hilda, who married Ethelric, King of the East Angles. It appears that he was obliged to fly into exile when his wife was pregnant with Hilda, to avoid King *Æthelfrid*, who sought to destroy the whole race of *Ælla*, but was pursued by the agents of the king, and put to death by poison. Hilda was born in exile, and it is stated by Bede that previous to her birth, her mother had a vision in which she happened to pull aside her garment, and discovered beneath a jewel of such marvellous lustre, that by degrees it diffused its brilliancy over the entire island. "Nor," adds the narrator, "was this any deception, for she was soon afterwards delivered of a daughter called Hilda, whose life was a light of example, not only to herself, but also to all who desired to live well." She was converted by the preaching of Paulinus, and baptized by him, and when still a girl she devoted herself to a religious life. What became of her during the troubles of the period between the death of Eadwin and that of Penda at the hands of Oswy we know not, but she appears to have undergone much affliction and persecution, which tended to deepen her faith, and caused her to cling more closely to the Cross of Christ. In 647, at the age of thirty-three, she resolved upon devoting herself more formally to the service of God, and with this view went to East Anglia, where her nephew Hereswid reigned, her intention being to pass over the sea to join her sister Hereswide, the dowager queen, at Chelles, in France, where she had entered a nunnery; but after remaining in East Anglia twelve months without finding an opportunity of crossing, she returned to Northumbria, chiefly at the solicitation of Bishop Aidan, her spiritual instructor and guide. On her return King Oswy made her a grant of land on the north bank of the river Wear, where she built a small house, collected ten nuns as her companions, and had the little Princess *Ælfleda* committed to her care by her father. When she had been there about a year, Hern, Abbess of Heorthen, resigned, and went to found a new nunnery at Kalcaceaster (Tadcaster), and Hilda was elected to the vacant office at Heorthen (Hartlepool). She set about her work with assiduous zeal, in the way of regulating the discipline, making new and wholesome rules, and enforcing a strict observance of religious duty, in which she was assisted by the counsels of her friend Bishop Aidan; and her fame for piety, charity, purity of life, and vigorous rule, spread abroad over Northumbria.

King Oswy lost no time in carrying out his vow. Immediately after his victory he called his council together to consider where the abbey should be situated, and who should be abbess to superintend the spiritual education of the young princess. Their deliberations were not prolonged, for their unanimous decision was that the abbey should be built on the crown lands of Streoneshalh, near the church of St. Peter, built by King Eadwin, and where his sainted relics reposed; and that the one person most specially fitted to take the superintendence was the Lady Hilda, Abbess of Hartlepool, she "being one of the greatest ornaments of Northumbria, and famed all over the island of Britain, not only for her extraordinary knowledge and learning, but also for her charity, meekness, and humility." It was after this expression of opinion that Oswy sent the princess to Hartlepool, to remain there until the abbey should be built.

The cathedral of York, commenced by Eadwin, and completed by Oswald, had now been finished fifteen years, and was looked upon as a masterpiece of architecture; therefore Oswy resolved to model his abbey church in the same style, and sending for the architect and workmen who had built it, set them to work upon his abbey, who commenced operations in the year 656.

What the church was like we know not, but Bede says that the church was square, so that we may presume it was similar to the Roman Basilicas, which were converted into churches, and that Oswy's church would be of that character. It was built of stone, with wooden roof and unglazed windows, glass not having been introduced until the archbishopric of Wilfrid, who repaired York Cathedral, "put a new roof on, and covered it with lead, and glazed the



WEST END.

windows to preserve it from injuries of the weather, and prevent the birds from defiling it." We may form some approximate idea of it from Prior Richard's description of the church of Hexham, built about twenty years after Streonshalh, by Wilfrid, when he held that see. "The walls were of great length and immense height, and divided into three stories, supported by square and various other kinds of well-polished columns. Also the walls, the capitals of the columns which supported them, and the arch of the sanctuary, he decorated with historical representations, imagery, and various figures in relief, carved in stone, and painted with a most agreeable variety of colours. The body of the church he compassed about with penvices and porticoes, which, both above and below, he divided with great and inexpressible art by partition walls and winding stairs. Within the staircases, and above them, he caused flights of steps and galleries of stone, and several passages leading from them, both ascending and descending, so artfully disposed, that multitudes of people might be there, and go quite round the church without being seen by any one below in the nave. Moreover, in the several divisions of the porticoes, or aisles, both above and below, he erected many most beautiful and private oratories of exquisite workmanship.....some of which remaining to this day (twelfth century) appear like so many turrets and fortified places."

The Lady Hilda was constantly on the spot during the building, as chief director of the works, "and great was her pleasure to see a fabric rising and advancing regularly, in which she was to spend the remainder of her days, where she could enjoy her native soil, live retired from the world, and be instrumental towards the salvation of her ignorant neighbours."

The abbey was a double community of men and women, who lived apart in separate houses, and was under the rule of St. Columba of Iona, one abbess or abbot governing both sexes. It was dedicated to St. Peter, and was afterwards called St. Hilda's, although never formally dedicated to her. Oswy endowed the abbey with the whole of the crown lands, "containing," says Bede, "six lordships or manors, consisting each of ten families, having given the other six comprehended in his vow to Hartlepool." Charlton, in his *History of Whitby*, says, "I cannot help differing from our venerable author, for, notwithstanding what he might give to Hartlepool, it is certain that Whitby Strand, which was his donation, contains neither less nor more than twelve manors."

In 658 Hilda inherited, through the death of her mother, the lordship of Aislaby, near Streoneshalh, where she had been born, which would come into the possession of the community, as none of the members were permitted to hold any personal property, but to make over to the abbey any property that might accrue to them.

When the buildings were in a sufficiently forward state to be habitable, Hilda, with Ælfleda and the ten nuns of Hartlepool, took up their residence in them, and were joined by other ladies of rank, "pleased with the company of so pious a mistress, and allured by the prospect of an eternal throne." When they took possession of their new habitation, "the cliff was greatly infested by serpents, that lurked in the shrogs and bushes about, to the great terror of the abbess and her nuns; upon which she prayed to God that He would cause them to crawl down the cliff and be converted into those stones found on this coast, and called to this day by the country people, for this supposed miracle, St. Hilda's stones, having the appearance of serpents or snakes rolled up or in their coil, but without heads, called by the naturalists *ammonitæ*."

"And how of thousand snakes, each one
Was changed into a coil of stone
When holy Hilda prayed;
Themselves, within their holy bound,
Their stony folds had often found."

These petrifications of the *cornu ammonis* are found in great numbers on the Whitby coast, and it would be difficult to disabuse the natives of the idea that they are the result of St. Hilda's miracle.

Hilda conducted the abbey with such discretion and good judgment that not only ordinary persons, but kings, nobles, and ecclesiastics of all grades sought her counsel and advice. "Thus," says Bede, "this servant of Christ, whom all that knew her called 'mother' for her singular piety and grace, was not only an example of good life to those that lived in her monastery, but afforded occasion of amendment and salvation to many who lived at a distance, to whom the fame was brought of her industry and virtue." And Fuller,—"I behold her as the most learned female before the Conquest, and may call her the She-Gamaliel, at whose feet many learned men had their education."

Under Hilda the abbey became a great school of learning, where many eminent men received their education, not less than five persons who afterwards attained the mitre having studied at her feet, besides others who achieved distinction as scholars, or became lights of the world as preachers and teachers. The most eminent of these were:—

ST. JOHN OF BEVERLEY, born at Harpham-on-the-Wolds, about the middle of the seventh century; died at Beverley 721. He received his preliminary education at Streoneshalh, under Hilda, pursued his studies further under Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, and completed them at Oxford, where he took the degrees of M.A. and D.D., having been, it is supposed, the first student upon whom the former degree was conferred. In his youth he was

esteemed for his piety and assiduity in learning, and in his old age was venerated for his devotion to the duties of his office, his amiable character, and his extensive knowledge. He was chosen Bishop of Hagulstad (Hexham) in 688, and whilst there had Bede as one of his pupils. He was translated to York in 705, holding the bishopric until 718, when he retired to a monastery he had founded at Beverley, and there died and was buried three years afterwards. He was canonized by Pope Benedict IX. His shrine in the afterwards Collegiate Church became a very popular resort for pilgrims, and was so adorned with gifts, that it became "a very blaze of gold and precious stones." His life has been written several times; one of which was by Bede, of which Fuller says, "He was tutor to the Venerable Bede, who wrote his life, which he hath so spiced with miracles, that it is of the hottest for a discreet man to digest into his belief."

BOSA. In 678 Wilfrid I. held the Archbishopric of York, or Northumbria, when Archbishop Theodore divided the see, and Wilfrid went to Rome to protest against the division, Bosa being appointed to the see in his absence. Wilfrid remained abroad some time, not returning until 685, when Bosa resigned the see into his hands, but was re-elected on the expulsion of Wilfrid in 698, and held the office until his death in 705. Not much is known of him, but Florence of Worcester refers to him as "multæ sanctitatis et humilitatis."

WILFRID II., Chaplain to Archbishop St. John, whom he succeeded in 718, resigning the see in 732. He was also Dominus of the Monastery of York; furnished the altar of his cathedral with a splendid set of sacred vessels, and was a munificent benefactor to other churches and monasteries.

HEADA, born in Yorkshire, it is supposed at Headingley, near Leeds, became a monk at and some say Abbot of Glastonbury, and was appointed Bishop of the West Saxons, Bede says in 673, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 676, and died in 705. He removed the seat of the bishopric from Dorchester, County Oxon, to Winchester. He was a holy and virtuous man, had miracles attributed to him, and was a clear-headed statesman, assisting King Ina in framing his code of good and wholesome laws.

OFTFOR, a supposed native of Yorkshire, who went to Rome to complete his studies. He was elevated to the Bishopric of Worcester in 697, having been for a short period coadjutor to his predecessor Boselus, and died in 692, "having afforded," Bede says, "a pattern to all who saw or heard him."

The great literary glory of Streoneshalh was its having nurtured the father of Anglo-Saxon poetry, CÆDMON, and the only writer of the British Saxon language of the period anterior to the Danish invasion of whom any remains are extant. He was born at or near Whitby, of humble parentage, early in the seventh century, and died *circa* 680. His occupation was that of cowherd and horse-keeper, sleeping with his charges in the stable, and although living under the shadow of St. Hilda's school, he had received no education whatever. It was customary then for the labouring classes, when their day's work was over, and they had finished their supper, to pass the harp round and sing in turn, and Cædmon, out of modest diffidence and supposed incapacity, always retired before the harp reached him. One night, as a monkish legend informs us, he had thus stolen away from his companions, and had fallen asleep upon the hay, when a stranger of celestial mien appeared before him, and asked him to sing. "That I cannot," said Cædmon. "Thou canst if thou wilt," continued his visitor. "If so," asked the cowboy, "what shall I sing?" "The creation," was the response. Upon which he felt ideas welling up in his mind, and words wherewith to clothe them rushing to his lips, and he sang a song of creation, which seemed to give satisfaction to his celestial visitant, who then departed. Curiously enough this vision of the earliest English poet is paralleled by one vouchsafed to Hesiod, the earliest of the Greek poets, who, in his *Theogony*, narrates how he had a vision of the Muses, who in similar style bade him sing "a voice imbreathed Divine that I might utter forth in song." It would seem that Cædmon was cattle-keeper to the abbey, for in the morning he spake of his vision to his superior, the bailiff, who, struck with its significance, and sagaciously sniffing a miracle, communicated it to the Abbess Hilda, who also perceived in it the hand of God, and sent for the young rustic to question him herself. With timid steps and bashful mien he presented himself before the venerated mother of the monastery and a conclave of monks and nuns, but acquitted himself with so much modesty, and gave so clear an account of the visitation, besides singing what he had received by inspiration, that they were fully persuaded he had received the Divine gift of poesy from heaven, and he was at once admitted into the monastery, where he was educated, and in due course assumed the cowl. Nothing much is known of his after career, excepting that he spent the remainder of his life within the walls of the abbey, in devout and literary pursuits. It has been suggested that Cædmon was an assumed or conferred name, from the circumstance that Cæd is the initial word in the Book of Genesis in the Chaldaic paraphrase, or Targum of Onkelos. He produced a vast quantity of religious verse, a small portion only of which has come down to us. Bede says, "The most sublime strains of poesy were so natural, that he dreamed in verse, and composed the most admirable poems in sleep, which he repeated as soon as he woke." A portion of his writings is given in King Alfred's Saxon version of Bede, and Sharon Turner, in his *Anglo-Saxon History*, gives specimens in the original, with translations. The following is a specimen of his poem on *Creation*, from an early English translation of the original Saxon:—

"There had not here as yet
Save cavern shades,
Aught existed,
But this wide abyss
Stood deep and dim,
Strange to its Lord,
Utile and useless,
On which look'd, with his eyes,
The King, firm of mood,
And beheld the places

Devoid of joys.
He saw the dark cloud
Lour in endless night,
Swart under the heavens,
Dusky and desert.
The earth was yet
Not green with grass,
But ocean covered,
Dark, in endless night,
Far and wide," &c.

The most important event in the annals of the abbey of Streoneshalh was the synod

held within its walls, to settle the disputes between the Romish and the British Churches relative to the time for the celebration of the festival of Easter, and the form of tonsure. We have seen that the abbey was a child of Iona, and was regulated by the rule of St. Columba. These ancient British, Scottish, and Irish Christians had derived their religion, ceremonials, and forms from wandering apostles coming direct from Jerusalem, and their rites and ceremonials corresponded with those of the Eastern or Greek Church, and were at variance, in some respects, with that of Rome. Amongst other variances, they celebrated the festival of Easter on the day of the first full moon after the vernal equinox, basing it on the authority of St. John, the beloved disciple. The Roman or Western Church kept it, as prescribed at the Council of Nice, not on the day of the full moon, but on the first following Sunday, citing as their authorities St. Peter and St. Paul. With respect to the tonsure, the



FIGURE SEVENTH

Romanists shaved the head in a circle, to represent the crown of thorns, whilst the British shaved only the forehead from ear to ear. Had not Penda, the Mercian king, stamped out the Christian Church founded by Paulinus under the auspices of King Eadwin, the dispute would never have arisen; but Oswald resuscitated Christianity in Northumbria by means of missionaries from Iona, and thus the rites and ceremonials of the old British Church became those of that kingdom. The origin of the dispute is attributable to a remarkable man, Wilfrid, a Ripon monk, afterwards Archbishop of York, a man of great intellectual power, and a great stickler for the rights of the Church of Rome, who had been educated under Romish instructors, and who became a Saxon à Becket in upholding the claims of the church in opposition to secular authority. He held many controversies with the clergy and monks of the Northumbrian church, in which he asserted that they were altogether wrong as to the proper time of the Easter festival; and the disputes became so warm that Oswy determined to have the question settled once and for all by a synod of prelates and abbots, to be held in his new abbey of Streonshalh.

The synod assembled, and was presided over by the king, who inclined to the British side, as he had been educated by the monks of Iona, whilst his queen Eanfleda (a daughter of King Eadwin) and his son Alchfrid held Romanist views. Thus there were ranged on the British or Scottish side the Abbess Hilda; Colman, Bishop of Lindisfarne; Cedd, Bishop of the East Saxons; and a host of priests and monks from Lindisfarne and Iona: and on the Romanist side Wilfrid, Abbot of Ripon; Agilbert, Bishop of Paris, formerly of the West Saxons; Romanus, a Kentish priest; James the Deacon; Queen Eanfleda; Prince Alchfrid; and several priests and monks who had been educated by Italians.

The king opened the assembly by observing, that as they all expected the same heaven, it behoved them not to differ in the celebration of the Divine mysteries on earth; but as differences did exist, especially as to the proper time for the festival of Easter, he had called together this synod to discuss the matter temperately, and in a brotherly spirit, so that the



FROM THE WEST.

celebration of the festival and the other disputed forms and ceremonials might for the future be uniform. He then called upon Bishop Colman to open the debate, by stating what was the custom of his church, and on whose authority it was based.

Colman then rose and said:—"The Easter which I keep I received from my elders, who sent me bishop hither. All our forefathers, men beloved of God, are known to have kept it in the same manner; and that the same may not seem to any contemptible, or worthy to be rejected, it is the same which St. John the Evangelist, the Disciple beloved of Our Lord, with all the churches over which he presided, is recorded to have observed." The king then called Bishop Agilbert to state his case, in reply, who desired, as he himself did not speak the English language, that Wilfrid, with whose views he entirely concurred, should speak in his stead, so as not to need an interpreter.

Wilfrid, who was a very eloquent speaker, and well versed in ecclesiastical lore, upon this rose, and with great argumentative force said:—"The Easter which we observe we saw celebrated by all at Rome, where the blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, taught, suffered, and were buried; we saw the same done in Italy and in France, when we travelled through

those countries for pilgrimage and prayer; we found the same practised in Africa, Asia, Egypt, and Greece, and all the world, wherever the Church of Christ is spread abroad, through several nations and tongues, at one and the same time; except only these and their accomplices in obstinacy: I mean the Picts and the Britons, who foolishly, in these two remote islands of the world, and only in part even of them, oppose all the rest of the universe."

Colman here interrupted him with,—“It is strange that you will call our labours foolish, wherein we follow the example of so great an Apostle, who was thought worthy to lay his head on Our Lord’s bosom.”

Wilfrid replied,—“Far be it from me to charge John with folly, for he literally observed the precepts of the Jewish law whilst the Church still Judaized in many points, and the Apostles were not able to cast off, at once, all the observances of the law which had been instituted by God; in which way it is necessary that all who come to the faith should forsake the idols which were invented by devils, that they might not give scandal to the Jews that were among the Gentiles. For this reason it was that Paul circumcised Timothy, that he offered sacrifice in the Temple, that he shaved his head with Aquila and Priscilla at Corinth, for no other advantage than to avoid giving scandal to the Jews.....But when Peter preached at Rome, being mindful that Our Lord rose from the dead and gave the world the hopes of resurrection on the first day after the Sabbath, he understood that Easter ought to be observed, so as always to stay till the rising of the moon on the fourteenth day of the first moon in the evening, according to the precept of the law, even as John did. And when that came, if the Lord’s Day, then called the first day after the Sabbath, was the next day, he began that very evening to keep Easter, as we do at this day. But if the Lord’s Day did not fall the next morning after the fourteenth moon, but on the sixteenth, or seventeenth, or any other moon till the twenty-first, he waited for that, and on the Saturday before, in the evening, began to observe the holy solemnity of Easter.” After some further arguments, he told Colman that he followed neither the example of John, as he imagined, nor that of Peter, whose traditions he knowingly contradicted.

Colman referred to Anatolius, who had written on the time of the celebration; to “our venerable and most reverend Father Columba, and to other holy men of the church of Iona;” but Wilfrid said that at the last day many will say to the Lord that they had prophesied and worked wonders in His name, to whom it will be said, “Begone, I know you not.” Not that he would apply this to Columba, and the others who had worshipped God with rustic simplicity, and concluded with,—“And if that Columba of yours was a holy man, and powerful in miracles, yet could he be preferred before the most blessed Prince of Apostles, to whom Our Lord said, ‘Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, and to thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of Heaven?’”

At this juncture the king said, “We have some very able arguments on both sides of the question, and have been told one most important fact, so that I think we need not discuss the matter any further, but proceed at once to a decision. It has been stated that St. Peter is the door-keeper of Heaven; do you of the Scottish faith recognize this fact?” “Most assuredly,” was the reply from Colman. “Can you shew any such power given to your Columba?” “Not any.” “Then,” continued the king, “you all, on both sides, agree that St. Peter holds the keys of Heaven?” “We do,” was the unanimous response. “Then,” concluded the king, “it appears to me that it would be an act of wisdom on our part to abandon our ancient practice and adopt that of St. Peter, lest he should close the gate against us as schismatics.” And the proposition was agreed to by all excepting Colman and his clergy from Lindisfarne, who still protested against the alteration as being adverse to the teaching of the Apostolic Fathers from whom they derived their faith, and soon after they left Northumbria and returned to Iona.

Hilda established some cells or minor convents subordinate to Streonshalh, one of which

was at Hackness, in a lovely valley enclosed by foliaged hills, to which she frequently, in old age, retreated for meditation and prayer, and to escape from the constant demands on her time from visitors who resorted to her for counsel, sometimes on trivial matters; and it is supposed that she died there after a lingering illness, which prostrated her for six years, "during which she never failed to return thanks to her Maker, or publicly and privately to instruct her flock, admonishing them to serve God in health, and thank Him for adversity or bodily infirmity." Bede, however, says that she died in her abbey, and narrates the following legend in connection with her death. He says that her favourite nun was Bega, afterwards St. Bega, the foundress of St. Bees, in Cumberland, who usually was her companion when in retreat at Hackness. One night she lay on her couch at Hackness, a few days after Hilda had gone to the abbey, when suddenly she seemed to hear the death-bell of the abbey ring out the summons for the sisters to assemble and pray for a passing soul; and immediately after the ceiling of her room appeared to open and reveal the starry sky. Presently she beheld a vision of the abbess ascending to Heaven, escorted by a convoy of angels, who sang in ravishing strains anthems of praise as they winged their way upward, and when the vision was lost in the depth of space, the ceiling resumed its ordinary appearance. In the morning she related what she had seen to the mother superior, and in the course of the day news arrived from Streonshalh that the venerable Hilda had passed away from earth to heaven at the precise hour that Bega had witnessed the vision.

Leland speaks of a *Life of St. Hilda*, by an unknown hand, which he saw in the library of Whitby Abbey, when he visited it, *temp.* Henry VIII., but which is now lost.

An effigy of Hilda has in modern times been placed in one of the windows of the church of the Oratorian Fathers at Alton Towers.

King Oswy died in the year 670, and was buried in the church of St. Peter, Streonshalh, when his widow, Eanfleda, became an inmate of the abbey, and spent the remainder of her days in spiritual communion with Hilda and her daughter.

Ælfleda, daughter of Oswy, who had been consecrated to God by her father, succeeded Hilda in the abbacy, and was assisted in her government by her mother, Eanfleda, who had then been ten years in the convent. In the year 684, when her brother Ecgfrid, King of Northumbria, was slain by the Picts, she gave shelter in the monastery to Trumwine, Bishop of the Picts, who had been compelled to fly at the time of Ecgfrid's death, "who there for several years led a life in all monastical severity, not only to his own but to the benefit of many, with a few of his own people, and dying there, was buried in the church of St. Peter the Apostle, with the honour due to his life and rank. The royal virgin Ælfleda presided over the monastery, but when the bishop came thither, this devout woman found in him extraordinary assistance in governing, and comfort to herself." Ælfleda died in 714, at the age of sixty, and was buried in the church of St. Peter, beside her father and mother.

Although the abbey continued to flourish for a century and a half after Ælfleda's death, we only know the name of one succeeding superior, that of Titus, the last abbot. In 758, Eadbert, King of Northumbria, resigned his crown to his son Oswulf, and entering the monastery, "received St. Peter's tonsure for the love of God, and to gain the heavenly country by violence." Hitherto, under the pious and vigorous government of Hilda and Ælfleda, the abbey stood out conspicuously for the well-ordered and virtuous lives of its inmates, and that character it maintained in some measure until the death of Eadbert, who acted as a check upon the corruption and irregularity which was perceptibly creeping in. It had stood as a beacon of spiritual light, casting its beneficent rays in every direction, and had been a nursery of bishops, and abbots, and scholars; but now the former was become dim, and the school became rather secular than spiritual. "The piety and religion which till then prevailed in Streonshalh began to decay; the zeal of many became lukewarm, and even monks and nuns reposed their hope of salvation, not in the practice of good works, but in making auricular

confession, and in obtaining absolution from Rome, believing that however corrupt their lives might be, the pope had absolute power to forgive their sins, and ensure their entrance into heaven." Throughout the land the monks and nuns at this time had sunk in the most gross vices, and great multitudes, "especially from Northumbria," amongst whom would be several from Streoneshalh, went on pilgrimage to Rome, to get thoroughly absolved, but on their journey they gave occasion to great scandal. The Archbishop of Metz, writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury, said, "The English nuns wandering in pilgrimage to Rome, under shew of devotion, live in wanton dalliance, and have filled all France and Lombardy with their fornications."

We have no annals of the abbey during this century and a half, but Northumbria was then in a distracted state, through the contests of rivals for the crown, frequent assassinations, raids by the Picts, and ravages of the coast by the Vikings, so that a regularly written register of events could scarcely be expected. Towards the end of the century the Danish Vikings became bolder, and in 794 landed on Holy Island, destroyed the cathedral and abbey of Lindisfarne, and carried off much plunder to their ships. This encouraged others to come and ravage the land, until they were checked by King Redwald, after which Northumbria had a period of repose, the Vikings going further south. The end of Streoneshalh was now rapidly approaching. Osbert, the King of Northumbria, had violated the wife of Earl Bruen Brocard, who vowed to have his vengeance in tearing him from his throne, and with this view went to Denmark to invite Hinguar and Hubba to fit out a fleet for the conquest of Northumbria. They lent a willing ear, not merely from motives of ambition, but of vengeance as well, for the death of their father, Regnar Lodbrog, who had been cast into a dungeon, infested with snakes, in Creyke Castle, by Ælla, King of Bernicia.

The invaders landed in two divisions, one, commanded by Hinguar, at Peak, seven miles off Streoneshalh, and the other, under Hubba, at Dunsley Bay, both planting the Danish standard—the Raven—on neighbouring eminences, which are still called Ravenhill. They marched upon York, met successively Osbert and Ælla, both of whom were defeated and slain, after which Hinguar assumed the kingship of Northumbria, and made York his capital. Previously to this, however, "the pagan host, like a whirlwind, spread desolation over all the country, destroying everything that came in their way, violating the women, murdering the men, and exercising every other act of barbarity they could invent, sparing neither age, sex, nor rank."

The town and abbey of Streoneshalh, lying so near their places of debarkation, were amongst the first to feel the effects of their ferocity. The town in the valley below was plundered and burnt, and the inhabitants killed or dispersed. They then ascended the cliff, and attacked the abbey; the monks who fell into their hands were murdered, and the nuns deflowered, and afterwards put to death. They broke open the doors of the abbey, sacked and then set fire to it, razing also to the ground the watch-tower, which had stood on the cliff four hundred years. "In short everything was so entirely demolished and destroyed, that the very name of Streoneshalh was lost in the ruins, and that place never more had any existence in the kingdom of Northumbria, but continued a heap of rubbish, desolate and uninhabited, until near the time of the Conquest, when a few huts or sorry cottages were built, which were called Presteby, from the priests and monks formerly resident there."

When the black raven was seen fluttering its wings off the coast, Titus, the abbot, with three or four of his monks, took up the relics of St. Hilda, packed up as many of the valuables as they could carry, and fled with them to Glastonbury.

Thus the abbey of Streoneshalh, with all its glorious associations, and the great names which were connected with it, after two centuries of existence,—one of eminent usefulness, religious and intellectual, the other of decadence and corruption,—lay prostrate in the dust; and so it lay for another couple of centuries, during a period when Northumbria was torn

by civil wars, fierce fights between the Saxons and the Danes, and ruthlessly desolated by the Norman Conqueror, after the repeated attempts of the Northumbrians to preserve or regain their independence.

The Norman Benedictine Abbey of Whitby.

The monastic houses north of the Humber, which had escaped destruction at the hands of the Danes, perished in the terrible vengeance of William the Conqueror, after the great Gospatric insurrection of 1070, in which he devastated and laid waste sixty miles of country, from York to Durham, leaving nothing but burnt crops, the ruins of houses, churches, and monasteries, and thousands of corpses rotting by the waysides and in the fields. This utter extinction of the religious houses excited the compassion of the southern monasteries, particularly that of Evesham, which sent forth Regenfrith, a lay brother who had fought at



FROM THE SOUTH.

Hastings, and with him another lay brother, and one from Winchcombe, to attempt the restoration of some of the old and famous abbeys of Northumbria. They came to York, and had an interview with Hugh the Bailiff, who furnished them with a guide to Monkchester (Newcastle). On the road they came to Jarrow, where they repaired the church, and built a dwelling for the minister. The bishop, who witnessed their pious zeal, made a grant to the priory of the lordship of Jarrow, and Ælfric of Winchcombe was left as prior. After assisting in other restorations north of the Tees, Regenfrith returned to Whitby, where, in concert with William de Perci, who held the site of Streoneshalh, and who furnished funds for the purpose, he refounded the house as a priory, and was constituted first prior.

The illustrious family of Percy, for centuries the wealthiest in the north of England, and one of the most potent in the realm, traces its descent from Mainfred, a Danish chieftain who assisted Rollo in his conquest of Normandy. William de Perci, fourth in descent from Mainfred, came to England at the Conquest, as has generally been stated, and was rewarded for his services at Hastings with eighty-six manors in Yorkshire, situated chiefly near Whitby, Beverley, and Thirsk. But modern research has thrown some doubt upon the statement that he was one of the heroes of Senlac, and it is now supposed that he came over with King William on his return from Normandy in 1067, when he obtained the above grant. Whitby

town, and the lordship of Whitby Strand, were not included in the grant. They had belonged to Earl Gospatric at the Conquest, but were forfeited after his insurrection, and bestowed on Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, who not being pleased with the wild unfertile moorland, disposed of it to his friend, William de Perci, who erected upon it two seats—one at Hackness, the other at Sneton. He married Emma de Port, or de Skarburgh, daughter of Earl Gospatric, and Lady of Scarborough and Seamer, in discharge, as he said, "of his conscience, she being very heire." From him descended, through female heiresses, the ancient Earls and the modern Dukes of Northumberland. He endowed the priory with the town and church of Whitby, the church of Sneton, lands in thirty-three townships, two-thirds of the tithes of Nafferton, and the tithes of sundry places in Lincolnshire.

Regenfrith, who was a lay brother, went back to Evesham, took the vows of the Benedictines, and then returned and assumed the priorship. He was an illiterate man, and scarcely fitted for the office; but in 1078, one Stephen, called Stephen de Whitby, made his profession, a man of considerable learning, and author of a work in MS. relating to the foundation of the abbey, now in the Bodleian Library, to whom Regenfrith assigned the management. In this MS. Stephen states that "Renfrid" yielded up the entire management to him, who, "though unwilling, and long resisting, was at last persuaded to assume the office." He continues,—“When I was elected abbot, being desirous, through the Lord's assistance, to restore the place to its ancient honour and dignity, which, being yet in its infancy, was endowed with no worldly revenue; and many unforeseen adversities rose up against me, which hindered the completing of my desires. For one of the king's barons, William de Perci, who had given us the place when it was a desert, seeing how we had improved it for the better, repented of the good action he had done, so that both he and those under him used us very injuriously, trying by all means that could be devised to drive us away from the place; while in the mean time pirates from the sea and robbers from the country, of which there was then great abundance, running up and down everywhere, offered us violence, and carried away all they could lay hands upon. At last, after confederating together one night, they attacked us, and putting us to flight, took everything we had, and even led away several of us captives into foreign lands; for which reason, being filled with deadly sorrow, and desiring by all the ways we could to avoid the danger that threatened us, we determined to represent our grievances to the king, who, being of merciful disposition, was much moved with our sufferings, and shewed himself willing to help us.”

He then narrates how the king (Rufus) gave them the ruins of the old monastery of Lastingham, and how they began to put it in order. "The time now approached for my reception of the bishop's hand and the abbot's benediction, when it came into my mind to go to Lastingham and be consecrated abbot of that place also, which was carried out to the liking of all. Howbeit the said William continually disturbed us, and endeavoured by all the ways he could to expel us from the manor, where we yet had our conventicle." He then went to the king in Normandy, where De Perci also was, "and besought the king to prescribe what we were peaceably to enjoy, and having his chirograph, returned to our fraternity; but the rage and malice of William was much more vehement against us;" and at last they were driven out, and Perci repossessed himself of Whitby. They remained for awhile at Lastingham, with scarcely sufficient means of subsistence, but were eventually befriended by Alan, Earl of Richmond and Bretagne, who granted them a church and four acres of land at York, which afterwards developed into the magnificent abbey of St. Mary.

It is thought that this is a partial and biassed narrative, and that Stephen was a quarrelsome person, who was as much or more to blame than Perci, as the latter immediately after Stephen's departure reconciled himself to the church, and with Prior Regenfrith applied himself zealously to the restoration. The re-erection was commenced in 1083, and in 1096 the buildings were covered in, and rendered habitable, but it was many years before it was completely finished;

but in after years the additions were chiefly ornamental, or reconstructions of portions in better styles.

The Benedictine rule was observed in the new abbey, which was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Hilda, and the parish church of St. Peter was dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin.

Regenfrith, who had gone on a journey to Ormesbridge, found some workmen employed in building a bridge over the Derwent, when he alighted from his horse to assist them in placing a piece of timber, which by some accident fell upon him and killed him. He was buried in Hackness Church, in front of the altar.

Serlo de Perci, brother of William, who had become a monk, was appointed his successor, who suffered similar troubles and tribulations to those complained of by Stephen, and obtained land at Hackness from his brother, on which he raised some buildings, and retired thither with his monks, as being a less exposed place. He also had a dispute with his brother, who seized some lands which he had given at Saxby and Everly, but obtained restitution of them, and when affairs had become a little more peaceable he returned to the abbey, leaving a few monks at Hackness, as a subordinate cell.

In 1096, the year that the buildings were ready to receive the inmates, William de Perci went on a crusade to the Holy Land, and never returned. He died at Mountjoie, near Jerusalem, whence his body was brought to England, and buried in the chapter house of the priory.

Priors and Abbots of Whitby.

REGENFRITH, or REINFRID, of Evesham, first prior.

STEPHEN OF WHITBY, is mentioned by Dugdale, but not by Burton. He was elected abbot in 1078, but can scarcely be said to have governed Whitby, as he retired to Lastingham.

SERLO DE PERCI, brother to William de Perci, the founder, second prior; died *circa* 1102, after holding the office about twenty years.

ABBOTS.

1. WILLIAM DE PERCI, nephew of Serlo, 1109—1127. He was previously a monk in the house, and in consideration of his rank, and the former dignity of the house, the priory was made an abbey, which was confirmed by Gerard, Archbishop of York, King Henry I., and Pope Honorius II. In his time the abbey was completed, and having purchased some land at Fillingdales, from Tankred, a Fleming, he built a church there, and another at Sneton, both of which he assigned to the abbey.

2. NICHOLAS, an intimate friend of Archbishop Thurstan; died 1139. He built the church of Uggelbarby, and obtained from Pope Honorius II. a charter in confirmation of the lands and liberties of the abbey.

3. BENEDICT; deposed 1148. He was very unpopular, partially for being a foreigner, but chiefly for his nepotism, reckless management, and squandering of the revenues. A complaint was laid before Archbishop Murdac, of his misgovernment, who summoned him and his accusers to appear before a special chapter at Beverley, when he resigned, or was deposed, and spent the remainder of his life at the church in Fishergate, York, which belonged to the abbey.

4. RICHARD, Prior of Peterborough; died 1175, after holding the abbacy twenty-six years and seven months. On the deposition of Benedict, Archbishop Murdac refused to allow a successor to be appointed whilst he lived, unless one of three whom he named were chosen. From the three they elected Richard, "as he was known to be a prudent man, and of noble lineage," which proved to be a wise selection. "Nor is it in our power to relate how well he spent his life, and how much he increased the glory of our abbey in buildings, in revenue, in churches, and in large possessions; neither can it be expressed how bountiful and yet how humble; how generous and yet how discreet and pitiful he was." He built the chapter house anew; beautified the church, and erected chapels at Dunsley and Aislaby. During his abbacy a catalogue was made of the books in the library, which consisted of eighty-six volumes, several of which were on grammar, the titles of which are given in Charlton's history. At the time of his death there were thirty-eight monks in the abbey. He was buried in the chapter house.

5. RICHARD DE WATERVILLE, Prior of Kirkeby, formerly a monk in the monastery of St. Nicholas, Angiers. He granted a charter of great privileges to the burgesses of Whitby.

6. PETER, 1189—1211, paid a fine of one hundred marks that the burgesses should not be permitted to make use of the privileges granted by Richard until it had been determined, in the king's court, whether the abbot and convent had authority to make such grant, and it was rendered null and void by King John's refusal to confirm the grant. He died in 1211.

7. JOHN OF EVESHAM, whose name is omitted by Burton, 1214—1222. He was appointed by Nicholas, Bishop of Tusculum, the Pope's Legate, who was sent to remove the interdict under which the kingdom lay, *temp.* John;

to this duty was superadded authority to make a visitation of all vacant bishoprics, abbeys, and benefices, all which he filled up at his own will, without consulting either king or primate.

8. ROGER OF SCARBOROUGH, 1222-1244. For several years he had been resident in a cell of Whitby, at Middleborough. He was a man of eminent ability, but suffered a great deal of trouble in a dispute with the Bishop of Carlisle, relative to the church of Crosby Ravensworth, and arising out of divers lawsuits with the priory of Bridlington, the convent of Basedale, and the Rector of Stokesley. "No Abbot of Whitby ever equalled or so much advanced the interests of the monastery. . . . Although he was never called to Parliament as a lord, yet no nobleman in England was more revered and respected. During the twenty-two years of his reign he raised the monastery to the full zenith of its glory, for never did it make so illustrious a figure as when governed by him, nor even after his death did it gain any considerable additions, either of riches or power." He was one of the witnesses to the signature of Magna Charta.

9. JOHN DE STEYNGRAVE, or SANGREVE, 1244-1258. Formerly sub-prior; resigned after a government of four-teen years.

10. WILLIAM DE BRINISTON, 1258-1265. During his abbacy the abbey suffered a great reverse of fortune, and became involved in debt through having to pay the costs of the struggle with Robert, Bishop of Carlisle, for the church of Ravensworth, which, after a prolonged contest at Rome, was decided adversely. He is said to have died of a broken heart, "without ever being reconciled to his enemies, or shewing any desire for having their excommunication taken off before he made his exit."

11. ROBERT DE LANGTOFT, 1265-1278; was summoned to Parliament as a spiritual lord, 46 Henry III.

12. WILLIAM DE KIRKHAM, 1278-1314; summoned to Parliament throughout a great part of the reign of Edward I. In 1280, Robert, Bishop of Carlisle, the violent persecutor and scourge of Whitby, died, and was succeeded by Ralf Irton, a native of Smer, who reversed all his predecessor had done, and granted to the abbot a charter, confirming him and the convent in the possession of Ravensworth Church.

13. THOMAS OF MALTON, 1304, resigned 1322, when he again became an ordinary monk in the house. He was summoned to Parliament *temp.* Edwards I. and II.

14. THOMAS DE HAUKESGARTH, 1322; held the office thirty years, and resigned in 1352, descending again to the ranks. After him the abbacy lay vacant three years.

15. WILLIAM DE BURTON, a monk of Whitby, 1355; died 1374.

16. JOHN DE RICHMOND, a monk of the house, 1374; died 1393.

17. PETER OF HARTLEPOOL, a Whitby monk, 1393; died 1394.

18. THOMAS DE BOLTON, 1394; died 1413. On his accession an inventory of the effects of the abbey was taken, when it was found that there were at the various granges and farms three hundred and ninety-four oxen, steers, cows, and calves, valued at £182 3s.; two thousand two hundred five score and nine sheep, valued at £171 3s. 4d.; sixty-three horses and mares, valued at £26 3s. 4d.; swine, valued at £5.; fourteen goats, valued at 12s. 6d.; large stores (enumerated) of wheat, masceline barley malt, oat malt, barley, peas, oats, and hay; also a great number of silver and silver gilt vessels, cups, chalices, goblets, basins, dishes, plates, "sawyers," pitchers, etc. The net revenue was estimated at £154 5s. 2½d.

19. JOHN OF SKELTON, 1413, died 1437.

20. HUGO ELLERTON, S.T.P., 1437-1462.

21. THOMAS DE PICKERING, a monk of the abbey, 1462, died 1478.

22. WILLIAM COLSON, 1479, died 1499.

23. JOHN LOVEL, a Whitby monk, 1499, died 1501.

24. WILLIAM OF EVESHAM, 1501, died 1505.

25. JOHN BENESTEDE, 1505, died 1514.

26. THOMAS BYDNELL, 1514, died 1517.

27. JOHN WHITBY, a native of Whitby; a monk for a long period; 1516, died 1517.

28. THOMAS YOKK, a presbyter of Myton, 1517-1527.

29. JOHN TOPCLIFFE, a native of Topcliffe, sometime a canon of Hexham, and often called John of Hexham: 1527-1538. In 1537 King Henry seized the revenues of the abbey, under the pretext of the abbot and monks having encouraged the insurrection of the Pilgrimage of Grace, upon which he resigned his office into the hands of the chapter, and became an ordinary monk.

30. HENRY DAVAL (DE VALL, *Charlton*), prior, was elected his successor in 1538, and surrendered the abbey to the king in 1540.

Annals of the Abbey.

The career of the abbey during the four hundred years of its existence, although it exhibited a progressive advance in wealth, splendour, and dignity, attaining a position surpassed by few, was chequered by adversities, troubles, and vexatious law suits. The events which characterized its career that have been recorded are very numerous, and it will not be possible in these pages to do more than glance at a few of the more prominent and important. The bulls and charters from monarchs, bishops, nobles, and landowners are too numerous to

give even an epitome of. In 1879, the *Charlulary* was published under the editorship of Mr. J. C. Atkinson, of Danby, by the Surtees Society, forming volume sixty-nine of the series.

Robert de Alneto, a Norman of noble extraction, came to England in the year 1100, on a visit to his uncle Nigel de Albini and his wife the Lady Gundreda, who visited Whitby, and, pleased with the mode of life in the abbey, became a monk there under Abbot Serlo, and was so esteemed for his holiness that he was made master of the house of lepers, at what is now called Spityll Brig; but finding the rules of Whitby not sufficiently severe to meet his views of a holy life, he adopted the life of an anchorite at Hode, on the moors beyond Helmsley, where he lived upon the spontaneous fruits of the earth, and spent his days and nights in prayer and mortification of the flesh. In 1138 the fugitive monks of Calder came under the notice of Gundreda, who placed them under his charge, and the hermitage was converted into a small priory of canons regular of the order of St. Augustine, Alneto joining the fraternity on condition of their erecting a Cistercian monastery. This they were not able to do until Roger de Mowbray, Gundreda's son, gave them land at Byland, in 1143, and out of this arose the noble Cistercian Abbey of Byland. Alneto died at an extremely old age, universally venerated for his holiness of life.

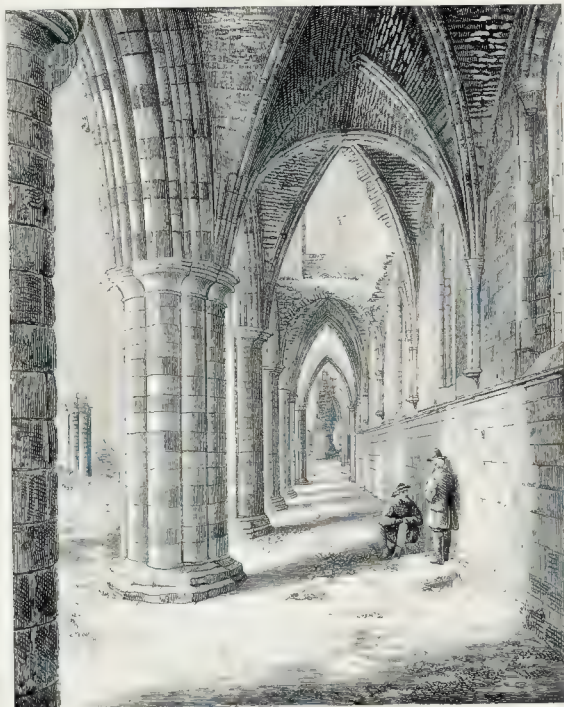
A tradition has come down to us that in 1159, three wild young fellows, William de Brus, Lord of Uggelbarby; Ralph de Perci, Lord of Sneton; and one Allatson, a freeholder, went forth for a day's sport in hunting the wild boar in the woods round Whitby. They started their game, which, after a long and exhausting chase, rushed into a hermitage on Eskdale side, inhabited by a Whitby monk. Taking compassion on the panting animal, bleeding and sorely beaten, he closed the door against the hounds, and the boar fell and died. The hunters came up soon after, and enraged at being balked of the amusement of beating the boar to death with their staves, made use of them upon the back of the hermit, and left him prostrate and apparently dying. Fearful of the consequences, they fled to sanctuary at Scarborough, but were put forth by direction of King Henry, and brought before the abbot, who at the request of the dying hermit conducted them into his presence.

When they came before him, the hermit said, "I am about to die of the wounds you have given me." "And they shall assuredly die for having given them," responded the abbot. The criminals implored for mercy, and begged for any penance rather than forfeit their lives. The hermit continued that he did not wish for their deaths, but that they should live and repent. He forgave them as freely as he hoped to be forgiven for his sins, but they must submit to a penance. "For the future you and your heirs shall hold your lands of the Abbot of Whitby on this condition: that upon Ascension Eve you shall come to the woods of Strayhead, in Eskdale, and at sunrising the abbot's officer shall blow his horn, and you shall cut stakes, strut-towers, and yethers with a knife of one penny price, take them on your backs to Whitby, and be there before nine o'clock; and if it be full sea your labour shall cease, but if not, you shall set your stakes at the brim of the sea, each stake one yard from the other, and so yether them on each side, and so stake them with your strut towers, that they may stand three tides without removing by force thereof. You shall faithfully do this in remembrance that you did most cruelly slay me, and that you may the better call to God for mercy, repent unfeignedly for your sins, and do good works. The officer of Eskdale shall blow 'Out on ye! out on ye! out on ye! for this heinous crime.' And if you or any of your successors fail in this, your lands shall be forfeited to the Abbot of Whitby." After a pause he continued, "My soul longeth for the Lord, and I do as freely forgive these men my death as Christ forgave the thief on the cross. In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum, a vinculis enim mortis redemisti me, Domine, veritatis. Amen." "So he yielded up the ghost the eighth day of December, A.D. 1160, upon whose soul God have mercy. Amen."

It is stated that this is a service which was performed by the tenants of certain portions of the abbey lands, and that no such persons as the above existed; but in 1753, a Whitby

tenant of the name of Allatson, the last of the race, who held land in Flyingdale of £10 annual value, performed the service. "He brought," writes a clergyman who witnessed it, "five stakes, eight yethers, and six strut-stowers, and (whilst Mr. Cholmley's bailiff, on an antique bugle-horn, blew 'Out on ye,') made a slight edge of them a little way into the shallow of the river." It is stated by Burton (*Monast. Ebor.*) that the Lords of Uglebarlby and Sneton bought off their share of the penance.

King Henry I., in a charter of confirmation and extension made a grant of the port and harbour of Whitby, with wreck and all appurtenances, and that the church should enjoy all the privileges of St. John of Beverley and St. Wilfrid of Ripon.



NORTH AISLE

During the rule of Abbot Richard, who died in 1175, the Norwegians landed at Whitby and plundered the abbey.

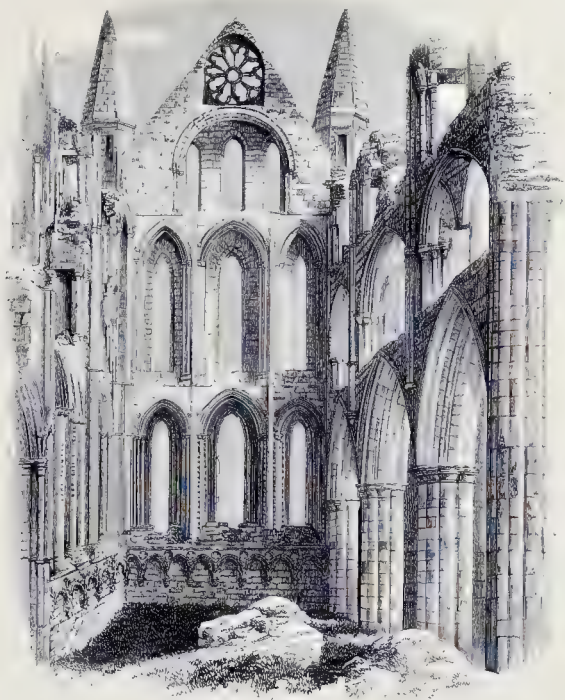
King Henry II., in 1168, granted a charter for holding a fair in the precincts of the abbey on St. Hilda's day, August 25th.

Abbot Richard de Waterville was wont to entertain Robin Hood and Little John at the abbey to dinner. On one occasion he asked to see a specimen of their skill in archery, when they ascended to the leads, and shot forth their arrows, as is asserted, to a distance of a mile, the spots where they fell being afterwards marked by pillars, and the fields are still called Robin Hood's and John's Field.

Abbot Peter ruled in the reign of John, when the kingdom was placed under interdict, and at his death the king seized the revenues, and would not allow a successor to be appointed.

In 1180, Peter de Mauley, or Malolacu (evil eye), Lord of Mulgrave, claimed certain villages and lands west of the Esk, and took forcible possession of them, but was compelled by the Archbishop of York, under threat of excommunication, to restore them; but he instituted a lawsuit, claiming also the church of St. Mary at the abbey gates as a dependency of his church of Lythe; but a verdict was given against him, when he appealed to Rome, and in the sequel was compelled to make restitution, pay all the costs, and ordered, under penalties, to give the abbey no further molestation.

The greatest luminary of the abbey was John of Brompton, a man of genius and great erudition, and reputed author of a chronicle of England from the landing of St. Augustine to



NORTH TRANSEPT

the death of Richard II., in which is embodied a valuable collection of Saxon laws. It is printed in the *Decem. Script. Hist. Ang.* He was born at Brompton, near Scarborough, in the fourteenth century, and assumed the habit of monk at Whitby, during the abbacy of John de Skelton (1413—1437), where he remained twenty years, and was afterwards elected Abbot of Jervaulx. Selden says that he was not the author, but merely the donor of the manuscript to the library of Jervaulx, and Bishop Nicholson inclines to the same opinion. In the year 1739, the Rev. Mr. Garwood, Vicar of Whitby, discovered on a pillar in the church a mutilated inscription, in Saxon capitals, referring to him—"JOHNES . DE . BRUMPTON . QUONDAM . FAMULUS . DEI . IN . HOC HUNC . THURIEM . IN . HONOREM . BEATÆ . MARIÆ," but an illiterate fellow, imagining that it marked the place of a treasure, knocked

it to pieces one night to get at the supposed deposit within, and now the fragments only are left.

Cells subordinate to Whitby Abbey.

HACKNESS. Abbot Serlo being much annoyed by the Danish sea rovers, begged of his brother, William de Perci, some more secure place of residence and refuge, who gave him the church of Hackness and some adjoining land, where he and his monks dwelt some time. But the donor attempted to recover the land and drive the monks away, when Serlo appealed to King Rufus, who granted his protection to the brethren, and with it six carucates of land, two at Hackness and four at Northfield. Richard I. gave the cell a charter of exemption from the tax of Danegeld.

MIDDLESBOROUGH. Robert de Brus and Agnes, his wife, *temp.* Henry I., or Stephen, gave the abbot and convent the church of Middlesborough, and with it two carucates and two oxgangs of land, for the support of one or more monks for the performance of Divine Service. Middlesborough, however, was a chapel to the mother church of Stainton, which De Brus had given to the canons of Guisborough, who were the impropiators, and a dispute arose between the two convents respecting the tithes and mortuaries of twelve carucates of lands, which were claimed by both. It was referred to the donor, who assigned six carucates to each, and gave other tithes to Guisborough, to indemnify them for their loss; he also decreed that for the future Middlesborough should be emancipated from Stainton, and be constituted a mother church.

YORK. All Saints Church, Fishergate, granted with provision for the maintenance of Divine Service. Archbishop Thurstan, King Henry II., and Pope Honorius III. confirmed the charter, and added that it should enjoy the same privileges as St. John's at Beverley, and St. Wilfrid's at Ripon. At the dissolution the church and cell were so completely destroyed, that even the site is not known with certainty.

ESKDALE. A cell where some monks were always resident.

GOADLAND, near Pickering, given by King Henry II. to Osmund, the priest, and the brethren, in 1117, for the health of the soul of Matilda his wife.

Hermitages at Mulgrave, Westcote on the Derwent, and at Hode, which last they exchanged with Roger de Mowbray and Gundreda his mother, for a mansion at Fossbridge.

Churches and Chapels.—Ayton Magna; Burniston; Carlton in Cleveland; Crosby-Ravensworth; Eskdale; Fylingdale; Hackness; Harlsey-East; Hawkesgirth; Hoton in Pickering-Lythe; Ingleby-Greenhow; Kirkeby in Cleveland; Newton in Hornebeck; Rowal; Seamer; Skirpenbeck; Slingsby; Snetun; Sutton-on-Derwent; Uggelbarby; and St. Mary, or All Saints, Fishergate, York.

The Dissolution.

The suppression of the smaller monasteries, and the confiscation of their possessions, took place in 1536, which provoked a widely spread feeling of indignation throughout the northern counties, especially in Yorkshire, and gave rise to the famous insurrection of the Pilgrimage of Grace, in which many of the abbots and monks participated, and with which all, with very few exceptions, sympathized. The second rising of 1537 was organized at Settrington, near Malton, not many miles distant from Whitby, and it is far from improbable that Abbot Topcliffe, *alias* Hexham, or some of his monks, were implicated in it. However that may be, they were suspected; the king seized the revenues, and the abbot deemed it prudent to resign. He had been sounded by the visitors on the question of surrendering the abbey, but did not seem to fall in with their views; and seeing that the fall of the abbey was inevitable, he chose rather to resign than to violate his conscience and his oath by surrendering the trust that had been placed in his hands, and giving up what belonged to God and the Church into secular hands. Henry de Vall, the prior, a more pliable and less conscientious man, was elected in his place, perhaps at the instance of Cromwell or the visitors, who saw that he was more suited to their purpose than the ex-abbot, and the temporalities were restored. It was but for a short time, however, as he was elected in 1538, and on December 15th, 1540, he and his monks signed the deed of surrender, and sealed it with the chapter seal, making one only condition—that they should be accorded small pensions out of the revenue.

At the survey the estimated gross revenue was £505 9s. 1d., or net £437 1s. 0d. The following pensions were awarded:—John Hexham, £26; Robert Woods, £8; Peter Thompson, £6; William Nicholseune, Thomas Thorpe, Thomas Hewite, and Henry Barker, £5 6s. 8d.

each; John Watsoone, William Froste, William Newtoun, and Robert Ledley, £5 each. Why the unyielding Hexham should be given the above pension, and the name of the more compliant De Vall is not mentioned in the list, does not appear.

The site and certain manors were given, 4th. Edward VI., to John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, who the following year obtained licence to alienate the manors of Whitby, Laynepole, Ulathe, Stanesley, Carr, and Hawkesgarth, with other messuages to John York and his heirs; and in the 1st. and 2nd. Philip and Mary, Sir John York, Knight, was granted licence to alienate the manor of Whitby Lathes to Sir Richard Cholmley, who had previously, 37th. Henry VIII., been given the manors of Ugglebarby, Eskdale Hall, and sundry lands and messuages in Whitby, to be held *de Rege in capite*. The Cholmley family are still Lords of the Manor of Whitby and owners of the abbey ruins, having a mansion built on the site of abbot's house.

The Ruins.

The situation of the abbey, built on the table-land of a cliff rising nearly three hundred feet above the level of the sea, is a striking instance of the proverbial love of St. Benedict for an elevated position as compared with that of St. Bernard for the secluded valley. It was built further inland than the original Saxon abbey, the sea having, in the interval between the destruction of the one and the erection of the other, eaten away a considerable breadth of the cliff, a process that has since then and is now continually going on. Burton (*Monast. Ebor.*) says, "Its situation is upon a high cliff, from the gradual wasting of which it is thought that at its foundation the church was built more than a mile southward of the main cliff, whereas now, A.D. 1757, the distance is scarce a furlong. The foundation of the convent and of the offices are all on the land side of the cliff, which declines gently to the south-west, as warmth and to be covered from winds was ever regarded as a material article in the situation of religious houses. The sea is to the south and north-eastward, and a large tract of wild moors to the west and south, probably much more rugged and unfrequented heretofore than now, made the choice of the place a very proper one for such as meant or pretended to retreat from the world, and was doubtless what determined it." He adds, "There remains only now the skeleton or walls of part of the church (owing in all probability to the hardness of the cement), which shew it to have been when complete a very large and magnificent one."

As usual the monastic buildings, including the cloistered quadrangle, the dormitories, the refectory and kitchens, the chapter house, library, and scriptorium, with other offices, lay to the south of the church, but of their disposition we know nothing excepting by analogy, the foundations being covered by masses of debris, the removal of which would be very costly. The cemetery was on the north side, away from the residential buildings, and the site of the abbot's house and of the eleemosynarium are known to have been—the former where now stands the mansion of the Cholmleys, and the latter where the stables are situated. The entrance gate to the abbey close was on the south-east, opposite the parish church, and fronting it is now placed the weather-beaten and mutilated cross, which formerly stood in the burial-ground. The shaft is octangular, and the arms which were perforated are much broken; it stands on a flight of steps, and is twenty feet in height, including the basement steps. Originally the church must have been a magnificent building, cruciform in shape, with a nave of eight bays, a choir of six, and a Ladye Chapel of two, the whole three hundred feet in length, and of the same breadth, with side aisles running throughout. The transept was one hundred and fifty feet long, with eastern aisle only, in which were shrines and altars, the remains of one dedicated to the Virgin Mary still remaining, with portions of a partially obliterated inscription. At the intersection rose a square tower, one hundred and four feet in height, supported on four sixteen-clustered columns and arches, whose span corresponded with the central aisle of the nave and choir, and with the western portion of the transept. Each arm of the cross,

north, south, east, and west, was terminated by a three-storied gable, and flanked by buttresses at the corners, whence rose elegantly-shaped octagonal spirelets. A beautifully-arched triforium ran round beneath the clerestory windows, forming a passage entirely round the church, with winding stairs of ascent.

There are three styles distinctly perceptible in the church. The choir and Lady Chapel form the oldest, the early pointed, with its three stages at the east end, each of triple lancet windows, without mullions or transoms, the second ranges being loftier than the others, and the lights separated by cylindrical shafts, and the arches and mouldings presenting a profusion of the dog-tooth ornament. The geometrical and decorated in the transepts and part of the nave; the windows with mullions, transoms, and tracery, carved mouldings and capitals, and corbels of grotesque heads and flowers, ranges of niches within and without for statuary, and a catharine-wheel window in the transept; and at the west end the rectilinear or perpendicular, with vertical mullions and horizontal transoms; arches and buttresses niched for statues, crocketed finials, and panelling on the walls. The great western entrance, reached by a flight of steps, was recessed with clustered columns, the arches and capitals ornamented with sculpturings of foliage, and above it was a noble window, now bereft of its tracery. Francis



FIGURE NORTH-WEST

Gibson, writing in the *Archæologia*, x. 123, 1790, says, "On a close inspection into the fragments of the outward wall and west end of the church, it plainly appears that the nave, built in the reign of Rufus, had been taken down, and an edifice raised upon its foundations, which by the lightness and elegance of the styles, I am of opinion, hath been erected near the time when Gothic or British architecture was rapidly advancing to its perfection of beauty and regularity, under Edward III. The choir exhibits a range of bi-formed windows immediately over the lower arches, and above those a corresponding row equal in number, but of smaller dimensions, similar to those seen in the south transept of the cathedral at York; whereas in the nave, from the points of the lower arches, a single line of large and elegant windows continued to the upper cornice, I mean that supporting the roof. Each window was divided into three parts, and finished with beautiful ramifications, in the manner of those in the nave of York Minster, which (excepting the choir) is the most modern part of that fabric. The keystones of these upper arches are of large dimensions, measuring near a ton and a half each. On examination as they lay on the ground, I was surprised to see in the crown of each a cavity, in many respects similar to those cut into large blocks of stone for the purpose of raising them by means of a machine commonly called a Lewis. This machine is supposed to

have been the invention of a French mechanic, employed on the public works of Louis XIV., and had its name given in compliment to that monarch." He adds that a similar machine was then used for raising stones of six to ten tons weight at the piers of the port, and that there could be no doubt but that a similar machine was used in building the abbey, five hundred years before the age of Louis XIV. He gives a drawing of the machine then in use, and of the position of the holes then cut, and of those in the keystones, which are very similar.

At the dissolution of the abbey the church was stripped of its timber and lead, the latter being partially used for covering the roof of the parish church, which had hitherto been thatched. The bells, a fine and musical peal, were taken down and placed on shipboard to be conveyed to London, but, according to tradition, the vessel was wrecked a few furlongs from the mouth of the harbour, went down, and that there the bells still lie. It appears that the glass of the windows, both plain and painted, was left, but gradually disappeared afterwards, either being broken through mischief, or removed to be otherwise appropriated. Charlton (1779) speaks of old persons then living who remembered fragments remaining in the windows. There are two interesting discs of painted glass from the abbey still preserved in the window of a house in Whitby. One has in the centre a pierced heart, and round it the crown of thorns and three nails, and surrounding this grouping a circlet of beads and roses, and on the latter the pierced hands and feet. Round the rim runs a Latin inscription, thus translated, "Hail! most holy Mary, who art a red rose, and clothed with the garments of Divine love above every other creature." The other represents the Holy Family at home, Mary seated weaving at a loom, and the child Jesus holding the ball of thread; whilst Joseph is entering at the door with an armful of sticks for fuel, and a pail of water. It is inscribed "Most Holy Mother, who with much care hath brought me up, as the most tender of parents, by the labour of thy hands."

The tombstones of benefactors, abbots, and monks, were very numerous in the church, the chapter house, and the cemetery, which at the dissolution were removed to the church and graveyard of the adjoining parish church, which were nearly filled by them. A few of these still remain in the church, but of those in the burial-ground, "in 1736, the clergyman finding that they greatly obstructed him and the ordinary at York from getting money by erecting new tombstones, caused them all, as opportunity offered, to be broken in pieces and demolished as relics of popery, so that in ten or fifteen years' time not one of them was left remaining."

Service was performed in the parish church after the fall of the abbey by one or other of the dispossessed monks until the death of the last, which occurred in 1570.

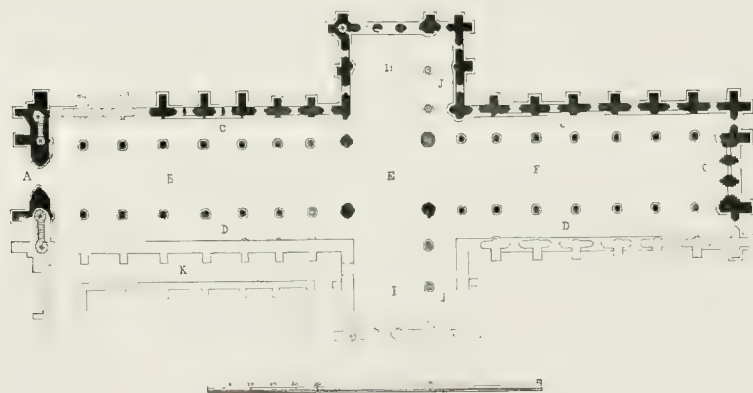
In 1743, the Rev. Mr. Garwood, Vicar of Whitby, "observed several shields of arms of the Percys, the Neviles, and others, with several devices of crescents, swans, snakes, doves, ducal coronets, anchors, etc., cut out upon the stone shields, but they were fixed so high on the wall within the nave of the church as not to be distinguished well without the help of a good glass."

Grose (1776) gives two views of the ruins; one from the north-west shewing the north wall of the nave, the opening of the west window, and the northern spirelet; the north transept almost complete, with its three stages of triplet windows, and its two flanking octagonal buttresses and spirelets; also the tower apparently complete, excepting the roof and the glass of the windows, but shewing the tracery. The other is from the south-east, shewing the lower part of the south wall of the nave, with four traceried windows; the chancel with its wall presenting three stages of windows, the gable and spirelets; and the south transept in ruins, with a small portion of the wall only remaining.

Charlton (1779) writes, "Our abbey keeps continually mouldering away, and has within these fifty years past gone greatly to decay, but never did it receive so rude a shock as from a storm of wind which happened on the night of December 2nd., 1763, when the whole western

wing was overset, and tumbled down to the very foundations, though supported by at least twenty strong pillars and arches, nothing being left standing therein but the north wall of the cloisters and a part of the west end wall. Enough of the abbey yet remains to make it an excellent sea-mark; but it will not continue so for many ages, the whole being in so ruinous a condition that in another hundred years it must be entirely reduced to a heap of rubbish." Happily this prophecy has not been fulfilled, although since then the tower has met the same fate, which fell in 1833. Gibson, referring to the same storm, which he places in 1762, says, "The body or nave of the church resting on sixteen well-proportioned pillars, unable to resist the violence of a storm blowing full upon it from the north, fell to the ground; yet such hath been the excellence of the cement, that the pillars and arches (hardly disjoined) remain prostrate in nearly the pristine forms."

The existing remains now are the three-storied east end of the Lady Chapel; six bays of the south wall of the choir and chapel; the north transept, with its windows, gable, and spirelets; five bays of the north aisle of the nave, with the arcaded triforium and clerestory windows, and the lower part of the western front, with the recessed entrance door and noble window above, but denuded of its mullions and tracery, and the northern spirelet.



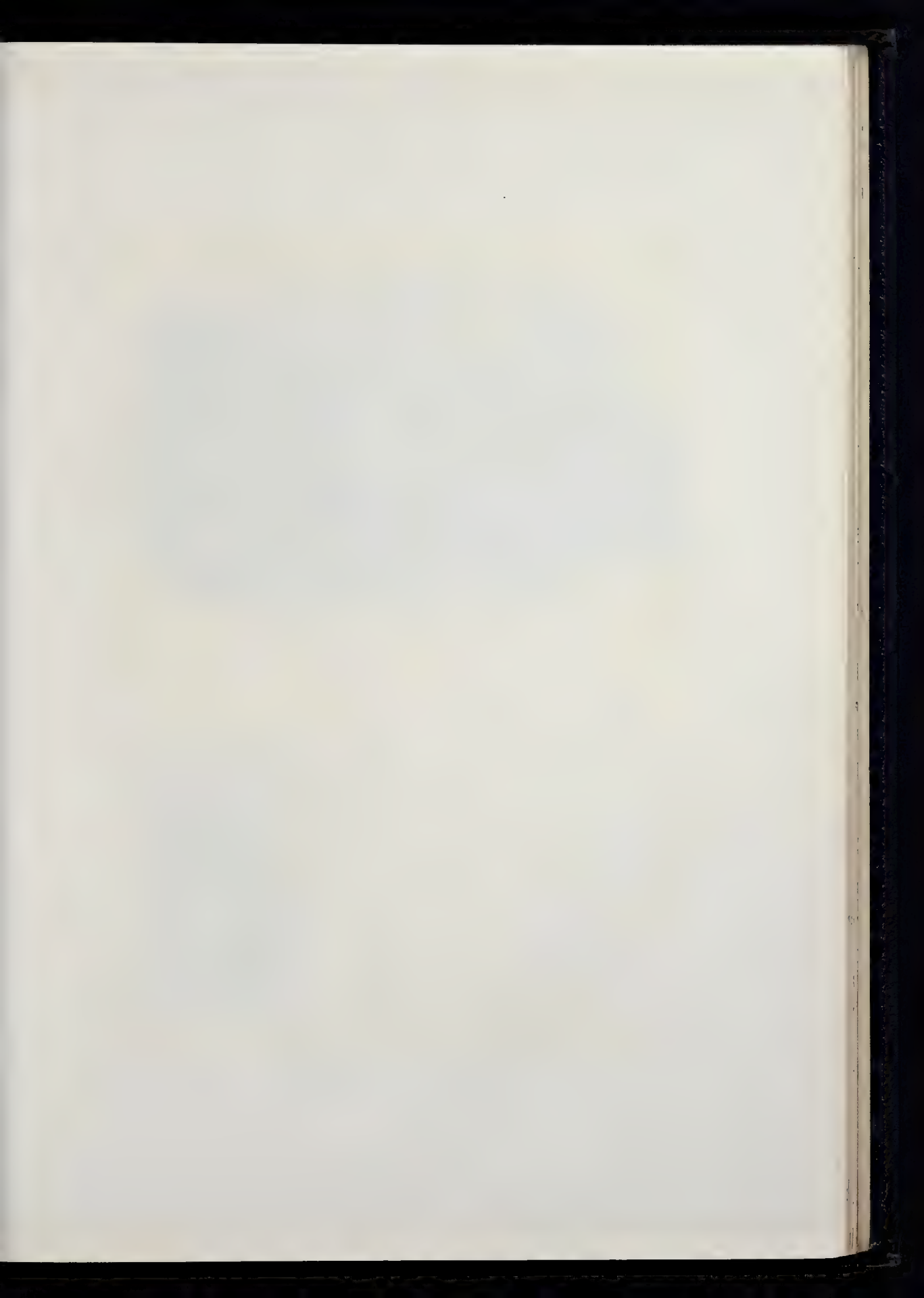
PLAN OF THE REMAINS OF THE CHURCH.

A West Entrance.
B Nave.
C North Aisle.
D South Aisle.

E Tower.
F Choir.
G Lady Chapel.
H North Transept.

I South Transept.
J Aisle.
K Monastic Buildings.







FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

The Augustinian Abbey of Jedburgh.



THE Border Lands of Scotland and England, stretching across the island from sea to sea, constitute a district characteristically wild and romantic in its scenery, with all the essential features of rugged mountains, pastoral valleys, serpentine rivers, desolate moors, unpassable morasses, tangled forest land, fells, tarns, projecting masses of rock; and in former times was inhabited by a rough, warlike, and barbarous people, whose hands were ever on their sword-hilts, who preferred the plunder of a warlike expedition to the honest fruits of industry and agricultural toil. In the Roman times, the Welsh minstrels tell us, many a conflict there was between that people and the Celtic Britons, and it was to impede the incursions of the latter people that the walls of Hadrian and Severus were built. After the Anglo-Saxons had become dominant in England, the Border Lands witnessed many a terrible battle between the aboriginal Celts and the intrusive Teutons. The Saxons, however, were never able to subdue Scotland, although Edwin, King of Northumbria, extended the limits of his kingdom to the Forth, and built there a fort, called Edwin's Fort, modernized in Edinburgh: and the Danes and Norsemen made successful landings at times, chiefly on the western coast, but

effected no permanent settlement, "the land of the mountain and the flood" remaining in the hands of the Celtic race to this day; excepting the lowlands, where there has been so great an infusion of the Saxon element into the population that the English has superseded the old British tongue. After the Norman conquest of England, particularly during the Plantagenet era, when the monarchs of that race strove so energetically to reduce Scotland to subjection to the English crown, the Borders became the great battle-field of the two nations, and burning, plundering, and massacring might be considered the normal state of affairs; a condition aptly exemplified in what was called "Jeddart justice," which meant hanging first and trying afterwards.

Trained from their youth in exploits of daring, the Borderers were a warlike and ferocious race, and when England and Scotland were at peace they indulged in internal quarrels between the various clans, leading to much bloodshed; and even in these periods of peace, despite existing truces, the Armstrongs and Elliots, and other restless tribes, would cross over into England, and commit wanton depredations upon the Borderers of Northumberland and Cumberland, setting the kings of both countries at defiance, becoming, in fact, banditti and outlaws. Sir Walter Scott says:—"Repeated complaints were made by the English residents of the devastations of the Elliots, Scotts, and Armstrongs, connived at and encouraged by Maxwell, Buccleuch, and Fairnihurst.....At a convention of Border Commissioners it was agreed that the King of England, in case the excesses of the Liddesdale freebooters were not duly redressed, should be at liberty to issue letters of reprisal to his injured subjects, granting 'power to invade the said inhabitants of Liddesdale, to their slaughters, burning, her ships, robbing, reifing, despoiling, destruction, etc., till the attempts of the inhabitants were fully atoned for.' This impolitic expedient, by which the Scottish prince (James V.), unable to execute justice on his turbulent subjects, committed to a rival sovereign the power of unlimited chastisement, was a principal cause of the savage state of the Borders. For the inhabitants, finding that the sword of revenge was substituted for that of justice, were loosened from their attachment to Scotland, and boldly threatened to carry on their depredations in spite of the efforts of both kingdoms." When Angus and other Border chiefs paraded the same king through the country for the purpose of punishing thieves and traitors, "none were found greater," says Pitscottie, "than were in his own company."

The most powerful of the Scottish Border chiefs were the Douglasses, who have figured in many a memorable exploit, whilst on the English side the Earls of Northumberland—the Percies—were the greatest and most formidable.

In the infancy of nations, and when the people are in a rude and barbarous condition, minstrels abound, and are patronized by warlike chieftains to sing their exploits in battle, at the festivals and carouses of the warriors, and the vehicle of verse is made use of, as metrical compositions are more easily committed to memory, and the valorous achievements of heroes thereby passed down from generation to generation, than through the medium of prose narratives. The Borderers may be assumed to have been in this condition until the cessation of rivalry, jealousy, and hostility between the two countries; war, rapine, and slaughter being their incessant occupation, with episodes of ungoverned sexual love, abductions of daring character, and ruthless violations of chastity. Hence the Border Lands and their history became the very home of romance and poetry, with a continuous outpouring of ballad lore. Bishop Percy remarks,—“The English ballads are generally of the north of England, the Scottish are of the south of Scotland, and of consequence the country of ballad-singers was sometimes subject to one crown and sometimes to the other, and most frequently to neither. Most of the finest old Scotch songs have the scene laid within twenty miles of England: which is indeed all poetic ground, green hills, remains of woods, clear brooks. The pastoral scenes remain: of the rude chivalry of former ages happily nothing remains but the ruins of the castles where the more daring and successful robbers resided.” The most famous of these

Border ballads is *Chevy Chase*, the ballad which "stirred the heart" of Sir Philip Sydney "as the sound of a trumpet," illustrating the Battle of Otterbourne, between Percy and Douglas, when

"The Persè out of Northomberlande,
And a vowe to God mayd he
That he wolde hunte in the mountayns
Off Chyviot within dayes thre,
In the maugre of doughtè Dogies,
And all that ever with him be."

Sir Walter Scott, a Border man by descent, was inspired by the ballad minstrelsy of the Border, imbibed in his childhood and youth, which resulted in the splendid legacy he has left to the world of *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, and a long succession of metrical and prose romances, such as the world has never seen either before or since.

The Borderers did not consider stealing their neighbours' cattle on the other side the Border in the nature of a theft, but simply as a reprisal for the loss of their own cattle, or as plunder in legitimate warfare. Thus Satchells, who lived when this idea was prevalent, wrote

"On that Border was the Armstrongs, able men;
Somewhat unruly, and very ill to tame.
I would have none think that I call them thieves,
For if I did, it would be arrant lees."

Northward of the Cheviot Hills and southward of the Tweed is the famous Vale of Teviot, a pass between England and southern Scotland, through which many an army and a multitude of marauders have passed to inflict rapine or vengeance on the enemy's lands. It is a valley of diversified and romantic scenery, and has scattered over its surface, perched on commanding eminences, the ruins of some once formidable fortresses, the strongholds of active and powerful chieftains. Within its bounds, too, may be seen the remains of four abbeys,—those of Dryburgh, Melrose, Kelso, and Jedburgh,—all magnificent structures, often plundered and desolated, and immortalized in many a strain of ballad poetry; the two former especially, in connection with the writings and with the life and death of the greatest of all the Borderers, Sir Walter Scott. Within this vale is another—that of the Jed—in which stands what is left of Jedburgh Abbey.

The river Jed rises in the Cheviots, fourteen miles above the town of Jedburgh, and falls into the Teviot two miles and a half below, receiving in its course a few tributaries, and "rushing through a rocky channel, betwixt woody banks and lofty scars, fringed with shrubs and crowned with the oak, the beech, and the weeping birch, presenting in its course a succession of highly picturesque and romantic scenery." Another writer says,—*"The Vale of Jed is not spacious: it therefore presents no such view as that of the Tweed at Kelso, but as it is serpentine and irregular, its views are much more varied, infinite, and even picturesque. At every step one takes along the banks of the stream, he discovers a novel and striking variety in the general tone of the landscape.....If better authority be wanting, reference may be made to Burns, who speaks of 'Eden scenes in crystal Jed.'"*

The Parish of Jedburgh consists of two detached portions, the southern bordering on Northumberland, five miles in length by four in breadth, in which stood Old Jedburgh; the other lower down the river, to the north, seven miles in length by an average of five in breadth, in which stands Jedburgh, Jedburgh Abbey, and Fernihirst Castle. It is diversified by hill and dale, lofty perpendicular rocks, with shrubs growing out of the side, forest trees above, and caverns and ravines below, formerly places of refuge from enemies. The sides of the valley rise by a gradual ascent to a height of three hundred feet above the level; the highest hill near Jedburgh is Dunian, one thousand one hundred and twenty feet above the

level of the sea; there are several other beautiful conical-shaped hills, upwards of eleven hundred feet high; whilst in the distance may be seen, in the Cheviot range, Carter Hill, two thousand and twenty feet in height, at whose foot the Jed rises. "The magnificence of its ecclesiastical establishment, the fastnesses of its forest, which was frequently the rendezvous of armies, its castles, and the number of its fortified houses, rendered the parish of much more consequence formerly than since the Reformation. From its proximity to the border, it was the continual scene of war and lawless violence, from the time when Donald V. here defeated the confederate Princes of Northumberland and Cumberland to the year 1575, when the 'Raid of Reid Swire,' which took place in its south boundary, terminated the hostile feuds between the two countries."

The two towns of Jedworth, as originally called, now corrupted into Jethart by the natives, were built by Egred, or Ezred, a man of noble birth, and Bishop of Lindisfarne 830—845, the district being in his diocese, who gave them to the Columban Monastery of Lindisfarne. In Old Jedburgh there are still the remains of a chapel, in the midst of a clump of trees in a field by the river side, which was founded by the bishop.

A royal castle was built in the town, which became the favourite residence of Malcolm IV., within whose walls he died. It was often inhabited by William the Lion and Alexander II., and was the birthplace of Prince Alexander, son of King Alexander III., after whose death the king celebrated here his second spousals, accompanied by great pomp and festivity, with Jolande, daughter of the Count de Dreux. The castle was in possession of the English from the battle of Durham until 1409, when it was recaptured and demolished. A portion of the walls was standing in the present century. After the demolition of the castle, the town was defended by six towers or peles, of which there are now no remains. The house which was occupied by Queen Mary is still entire: a large building, with massive walls and small windows; a broad stone stair leads to the second storey, and a winding stair to the queen's room on the third, which was hung with tapestry still in a good state of preservation. At the foot of Canongate is a curious and very ancient stone bridge, with three semicircular ribbed arches; and in Bongate a portion of an obelisk, with some almost obliterated sculptures of animals and characters, which is supposed to be what remains of the ancient Bongate Cross. There was formerly a Carmelite Friary and a Maison Dieu in the town, but these have disappeared entirely. Jedburgh was made a royal burgh by King David I., the founder of the abbey.

The burghers of Jedburgh and the forest dwellers around were a sturdy, stalwart race, and were especially noted for their prowess with the "Jeddart axe" and the "Jeddart staff," two formidable weapons, the latter a long, stout stake, shod with four feet of sharpened iron, with which they have put to flight many a body of English intruders into their valley.

It has been the birthplace or residence of many eminent men: St. Kennoek; Friar Adam Bell, author of a *History of Scotland*; John and Samuel Rutherford, and Andrew Young, of collegiate celebrity; Dr. Macknight; Dr. Somerville; the poet Thomson; Mrs. Somerville, famous for her scientific works; and Sir David Brewster.

The principal family in the immediate neighbourhood of Jedburgh, who played most important parts in the Border warfare, and were connected in many respects with the abbey, was that of Ker, of which there were two branches, one, the elder, seated at Fernihirst, the other at Cessford. They were of Anglo-Norman descent, from two brothers, Ralph and John, who settled in Teviotdale in the fourteenth century. From Ralph, the elder, descended Sir Andrew, of Fernihirst, who had two sons: John, whose grandson, Andrew, was created Baron Jedburgh in 1622; and Robert, of infamous notoriety, the favourite of James I. of England, and created Earl of Somerset; and Robert, of Ancrum, whose grandson Robert was created Earl of Ancrum in 1633, whose son William was created Earl of Lothian in 1631, whose son Robert was advanced in the peerage to the Marquisate of Lothian, a title still extant.

From John, the younger of the two brothers, descended Sir Robert, eleventh in descent, who was created Earl of Roxburgh in 1616, from whom was John, fifth Earl, who was created, in 1707, Duke of Roxburgh, a title also still extant.

Fernihirst Castle, the seat of the elder branch, on the eastern side of the Jed, two miles from Jedburgh, was a stronghold built on a steep bank overhanging the river, built by Sir Thomas Ker, of Kershaugh, in 1499. In 1523 it was taken by the Earl of Surrey, but recovered by the Scots assisted by their French auxiliaries, after a desperate conflict, in



NAVE, FROM SOUTH AISLE.

1549. In 1569 it became the place of refuge of the Earl of Westmoreland, after his unsuccessful insurrection—"the Rising in the North"—in favour of Queen Mary; and the following year it was taken and demolished by the Earl of Sussex, in vengeance for the raid into Northumberland of Ker, the then owner. It was rebuilt in 1598, and there still remains the keep, a tall square tower in good preservation, "its grey turrets still peering over the tall venerable trees that surround it." The outbuildings, in a half ruined state, surround the courtyard, one portion being converted into a farm-house.

At the Reformation the burghers of Jedburgh espoused the cause of the Reformers, whilst Ker of Fernihirst, their powerful neighbour, upheld that of Queen Mary and the old faith. A pursuivant was sent to Jedburgh from the queen and Ker, to proclaim all null and void that had been done in state matters during her captivity; but the Jedburghers treated it with contempt, compelled the herald to eat his missive, and then, as Bannatyne

informs us, "loosed down his points and gave his wages, with a bridle, on his bare posterior, telling him that if he dared to show his face there again with such a message, it would be at the peril of his life." For this insult Ker hanged ten of the townsmen, and destroyed all the provisions they had laid up for the coming winter.

The Abbey.

King David I.,—or as he is sometimes termed, "St. David,"—the founder of the abbey, was the youngest of the six sons of King Malcolm Ceanmohr, by his second wife, Margaret, the beautiful and pious princess of the Anglo-Saxon race, mother of Eadgar the Atheling, and who was so instrumental by influence, precept, and example, in civilizing, humanizing, and christianizing the barbaric northern court. He was born about the year 1080, and in the commotions which succeeded his father's death in 1093 he took refuge with his mother and his sister Eadyth, afterwards the queen (Matilda) of Henry I., at the English court, where he remained several years, learning the accomplishments of the age, and becoming thoroughly imbued with the spirit of religion. When his brother, Alexander I., ascended the throne, David became Prince of Cumbria, which then included the county of Roxburgh, during which period he restored the fallen Bishopric of Glasgow, brought a colony of Benedictine monks from France, and planted them at Stirling, and it is supposed that he then founded the establishment at Jedburgh as a priory. He succeeded to the throne in 1124, and for nearly twenty years was almost constantly at war, in the earlier portion with the representatives of the old Celtic dynasties, pretenders to his crown; afterwards, in opposition to Stephen of England, in support of the claims of his niece, Matilda, the Empress, to the throne of her father, Henry I. He married Matilda, daughter of the famous Waltheof, Earl of Northumbria, Northampton, and Huntingdon, through whom the latter earldom came to the royal race of Scotland. "The rest of his reign was devoted to the accomplishment of the great revolution which had been begun by Malcolm his father, and St. Margaret his mother—the establishment in Scotland of the civilization which obtained in England. By building castles he procured the peace and safety of the country; by erecting burghs—of which Jedburgh was one—he promoted its trade, shipping, and manufactures, and laid the foundation of its freedom; by endowing bishoprics and monasteries he provided homes for the only men of learning and enlightenment known in his time." He died at Carlisle in 1153, and although never canonized, is esteemed a saint by the Scots.

The exact date of the foundation of Jedburgh Abbey is uncertain. Andrew de Wintoun says 1118, which is probably correct: Fordun gives 1147, the probability being that the latter date is when it was changed from a priory to an abbey, or when the buildings were completed.

King David determined that the fraternity should be canons of the Order of St. Augustine, an order less severe in its rules than the Benedictines, but more strict and monastic than the canons of the church, and sent to Beauvais (Bellovacum), in France, for a colony of canons from the Monastery of St. Quentin, which had been founded by Yvo Carnulensis, afterwards Bishop of Chartres. There was already one Augustinian Abbey in Scotland, at Scone, which had been planted there in the reign of Alexander I. by Atelwophus, Prior of Nostel in Yorkshire, who afterwards became Bishop of Carlisle. Eventually there were twenty-eight monasteries of the order in Scotland. King David, after building the house, granted and confirmed to the canons, by charter, the following properties:—

1. The Monastery of Jedworthe, with everything appertaining thereto.
2. The tithes of the two Jedworthes, Langton, Nesbyt, and Creling, the town of Earl Gospatric, and in the same town a ploughgate and half, and three acres of land and two houses; of the other Creling, the town of Orm, and of Scranesburghie.

3. The chapels of Ulfstoun near Jedworthe, Alnecliffe, Crumsethe, Reperlaw, and the chapel in the forest opposite Herwingseslaw.
4. One tenth part of the game taken in hunting in Teviotdale.
5. The multure of the miln at Jedworthe, where all the people ground their corn.
6. Pasture for their cattle in the king's forest.
7. Wood and timber for the use of the monastery, excepting from Quikege.
8. The villages of Rule Hervey and Eadswordisley.
9. The saltworks near Strivelire.
10. A residential house at Roxburghe, and another at Berwick.
11. A fishery in the Tweed, opposite the isle of Tunmidship.

King Malcolm IV. ("The Maiden"), grandson and successor of King David, supplemented his grandfather's foundation endowment by a grant of the churches of Grendon and Barton, in Northamptonshire; a toft and seven acres of land at Jedworth; fishing above the bridge at Berwick; and exemption from duty on wine at Berwick. He died at Jedburgh of a lingering disease in 1165, at the early age of twenty-four years. Other grants of lands, churches, and houses were subsequently made to the abbey by Waltheof, son of Gospatric; David Olifard; Richard English; Gamel; Margaret, wife of Thomas de Loudon; Ralf, son of Donegal and Bethoa his wife; Christina, wife of Gervas Ridel; Gaufrid de Perci; Turgot de Rossendale; Guido de Rossendale; Gervas Lidal; Ranulph de Sulas; and William de Veteripont, or Vipont.

There were three cells and an hospital appendant on the abbey:—

The cell of Restinot, or Restnote, in the shire of Angus, established *ante* 1162, in which year (1162) Robert the Prior, formerly a canon of Jedburgh, was elected Prior of Scone, and in 1205 Hugh the Prior was elected Prior of Jedburgh. King Robert I. granted to the priory, and "the Abbot of Jedworth byding there," "the tiends (tenths) of the king's horses and studs, and the third of the hay of the Forest of Plater, and when the king was in Forfar, every day two loaves of bread called Sunday-bread, four loaves of second-bread, and six loaves of the bread called haggmans, two stoups of the best ale, two stoups of second ale, and two pair of dishes of each of the three services from the kitchen.

The cell of Canonby, Dumfriesshire, between the Esk and the Liddel, was founded *temp.* Osbert, Prior of Jedburgh.

The cell of Blantyre was situated in Clydesdale.

King Robert III. made a grant of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, at Rutherford, in 1377, on condition that a chaplain, properly qualified, should be maintained there, to perform Divine Service, and to pray for his soul and those of his ancestors.

Priors and Abbots of Jedburgh.

The list of the heads of the house is far from complete. The constant state of war in the Border, with the plunderings, burnings, and devastations to which the abbey was subjected, would interfere with the maintenance of a regular consecutive record of the succession of abbots, their elections to and cessations of office, and many of the fragmentary records would undoubtedly be destroyed in the course of the military inroads of the English, and at times the abbey would be left without a head. The following is as accurate a list (drawn from various sources) as can be ascertained:—

DANIEL, "Prior de Geddwrda," occurs in King David's charter, 1139.

OSBERT, "Prior de Gedworda," occurs frequently *temp.* David I. He is said to have been "a man of singular integrity and unaffected piety;" drew up rules for the monastery, registered the acts of the chapter, and wrote a treatise on the foundation of the priory, which he presented to the king. He was prior in 1150, after which he was styled abbot. In the chronicle of Melrose his death is recorded in 1174, as "primus Abbas de Jedwood."

RICHARD, the cellarer, succeeded him, and died in 1192.

RALPH, a canon of the house, was his successor, and died in 1205. He was esteemed as a prophet, and gifted with second sight, but no account remains of his revelations. He is said to have been of engaging manners and disposition, and to have been much regretted at his death.

HUGH, Prior of the subordinate Cell of Restinot, near Forfar, was elected his successor in 1205.

HENRY, the next that occurs, resigned his office in 1239, on account of the infirmities of age.

PHILIP, a canon of the house, 1239 till death—1249.

ROBERT DE GYSEBORN, a canon of the house, "a man whose very appearance inspired devotion," succeeded him, and died the same year, 1249.

NICHOLAS, a canon of Jedburgh, 1249—1278, when he retired in consequence of old age, "bearing the character of a man of wisdom and prudence," wise also in state matters.

JOHN MOREL, canon of Jedburgh, 1275.

WILLIAM, possibly his successor, was witness to a charter granted to the abbey of Melrose between 1314 and 1328, the other witnesses being William, Abbot of Kelso, who was elected in 1314, and William de Lambeton, Bishop of St. Andrews, who died in 1328.

JOHN, *circa* 1338, was witness to a grant by William de Felton, the English Governor of Roxburgh Castle, and Sheriff of Teviotdale, to the abbey of Dryburgh. In 1348 he witnessed a confirmatory charter of King David Bruce to Kelso Abbey; and in 1354 a similar deed of King Edward III. to the church of St. James, Roxburgh.

ROBERT, supposed to have been abbot in 1356.

WALTER, occurs in 1444, when his signature, along with those of the Abbots of Melrose, Dryburgh, and Kelso, was appended to an agreement relative to the tithes of Lessuden.

ROBERT occurs in connection with the conclusion of a treaty of peace, 1473.

JOHN HALL, appointed by King James III., 1478.

THOMAS occurs in 1494, in connection with the arrangement of truce with England.

HENRY; his name occurs as a witness to charters in 1507, 1508, and 1511.

JOHN HOME, one of the Spiritual Lords who sat in the Parliament of Perth in 1513. He was a younger son of Alexander, second Lord Home, and brother of Alexander, third Lord, and Lord Chamberlain of the Kingdom, who was beheaded on a false charge of treason, in a struggle for power, and the abbot banished beyond the Tay.

ANDREW HOME, son of George, fourth Lord Home, and nephew of Abbot John, *supra*, held the abbacy at the Reformation in 1559, when the revenues were annexed to the crown. He was, however, in receipt of a certain portion of the revenue until his death in 1578.

Dempster, in his *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, speaks of St. Kennoch as Abbot of Jedburgh in the early period of the annals, "a pious man who by his unceasing prayers and entreaties, prevailed on the kings of England and Scotland to maintain peace for a period of ten years, at a time when they were ready to rush at each other's throats;" adding, "from him has been a long line of abbots, many of whom, from being employed in important state affairs, appear to have been men of distinguished learning and prudence."

Annals.

Unlike monasteries more happily situated in their secluded valleys, remote from the turmoil of war, where the inhabitants could perform their devotions in peace and security, cultivate their lands with the certainty of reaping their harvests, and devote their leisure to the pursuits of literature in their libraries and scriptoriums, without the risk of having their literary treasures scattered to the winds or burned at the hands of rude and barbarous marauders, the abbey of Jedburgh, placed as it was between two rival monarchies who were ever at war, presents, in its annals, a series of disastrous calamities, such as plunderings, burnings, dispossessions, and murders, in which it was intimately associated with the Border history of Teviotdale, rendering it necessary, in narrating the annals of the abbey, to interweave with it a sketch of that history during its existence.

Sir Walter Scott says,—“The abbeys which were planted upon the Border, neither seem to have been much respected by the English nor by the Scottish barons. They were repeatedly burned by the former in the course of the Border wars, and by the latter they seem to have been regarded chiefly as the means of endowing a needy relation, or the subject of occasional plunder.”

King David appears to have planned his abbey, situated as it was near by a royal town and palace, on a magnificent scale, as is indicated by the existing ruins of the church. Of the progress of the erection we have no account, but we may presume that the buildings were commenced by him in 1118, when he was Prince of Cumbria, and completed in 1147, when the hitherto priory was dignified with an abbot. Little or nothing is known of its annals for the first hundred years of its existence; but early in the following century a dispute arose between the abbot and canons and the Bishop of Glasgow, relative to certain of their respective rights and privileges, which crossed and interfered with each other. The matter was referred to five arbitrators, who met at Nesbit, who, after hearing both sides, gave

their decision "that the abbot and canons should obey the bishop or his official in all canonical matters, in a canonical manner, saving their mutual privileges; that the chaplain of the parish church of Jedburgh yield fit obedience to the bishop or his officials, when they should come to perform episcopal offices in the church. The abbot, according to ancient custom, to attend in person, or by his procurator, at the festival of the dedication of the church of Glasgow; when summoned, not to omit attendance on synods; the canons to provide in the churches under their care and patronage meet accommodation for the bishop when performing his visitations, excepting where the vicarage was worth only ten marks;" and directions on some minor points of the dispute.

Abbot Nicholas, in 1265, was sent on a mission, with three others, from King Alexander III. to his father-in-law, Henry III. of England, when a prisoner of Montfort's, after the battle of Lewes.



FROM NORTH-WEST.

Jedburgh was a favourite residence of King Alexander III., on account of its beautiful scenery, and he chose it as the place of the celebration of his nuptials with the beautiful Jolande, daughter of the Count de Dreux. Within the walls of the castle were assembled all of the highest ranks of the Scottish nobility, with several nobles and ladies from the court of France. At the banquet all was mirth and hilarity, jesting and flirting; and during its progress a masque entered and passed along the centre, the revellers being seated at tables at the sides. First came a band of minstrels followed by splendid pageants, after whom came a company of dancers "with a variety of movements and gesticulations." When these had passed through, a spectre glided into the hall, which was at first thought to be a part of the spectacle, although of ghastly aspect, but the spectators were soon undeceived, as it did not appear to touch the floor, nor to be of flesh and blood, but had the appearance of an unsubstantial phantom, with grisly features and a cloud-like robe. It glided along the centre of the hall, and when it came opposite the king, who was seated on the dais, at the upper end, it cast a look upon him and suddenly vanished, as if it sank into the floor. So

tradition tells, and it is said that all the merriment of the feast at once subsided, as every one concluded that it betokened the king's early death, which in fact took place in the following March, by which the kingdom was thrown into confusion, and led to war with England, in respect to the disputed succession.

The king's heiress was his grand-daughter Margaret, "The Maid of Norway," whom Edward I. of England wished to match with Edward, Prince of Wales, so as to unite the two crowns, but Margaret died before the negotiations could be effected, and hence the subsequent competition for the crown of Scotland. On her death thirteen competitors started up as claimants, but those of two, John Baliol and Robert Bruce, were recognized as superior to the claims of the others, they being descendants of David, a younger brother of William the Lion, the former being grandson of his elder, and the latter a son of his second daughter. Edward I. of England claimed the right of interference, on the ground that William the Lion, when the prisoner of Henry II., had acknowledged himself a vassal of the English Crown, and asserting that Richard I. had no right to sell the vassalage, as it was not his property, but that of the sovereignty of England. The Parliament of Scone, although not recognizing the vassalage, agreed to submit the matter to his arbitration, and sent three commissioners, one of whom was John, Abbot of Jedburgh, to the English king, who was then in Gascony. They found him at Saintonge, and brought back his answer that he declined, for the present, giving his opinion, doubtless in order to consider in what way he might turn the crisis to his advantage, and in the same year he directs his Forester at Selkirk to send six fat bucks as a present to the Abbot of Jedburgh, one of a series of conciliatory gifts or bribes. Eventually Edward arbitrated in favour of John Baliol, on condition of his doing homage to him for his crown, which he did at Newcastle, December 26th., 1292, in presence of John, Abbot of Jedburgh, and other official persons. In virtue of this, King Edward assumed the feudal Lordship of Scotland, and demanded the submission and homage of the people. The abbot and convent of Jedburgh at once swore fealty, constrained thereto probably by their dangerous position on the Border, when the king confirmed to them their land in counties Roxburgh and Berwick; but he seems to have doubted their loyalty, as in September of the same year he sent thither one John de Byrdeleye, clerk, with a letter requesting his admission into their fraternity, presumed as a spy upon them, and to take note of any movements tending towards revolt, the adjoining forest being a frequent and convenient place for the rendezvous of the disaffected.

Jedburgh Castle, one of the strongest fortresses on the border, had been placed in Edward's hands by the rival claimants, who thus risked the safety and defence of the nation to curry favour with him, which he placed under the hands successively of John Comyn, Lawrence Seymour, and Brian Fitz Alan, stating that he held it temporarily, that through it he might deliver up peaceable possession of the kingdom to the claimant whom he might select, but there can be no doubt he held it with a view to the complete subjugation of the kingdom. He gave it up to Baliol, on his accession, but only on condition that the towns of Jedburgh, Roxburgh, and Berwick be given into his hands, to hold as a pledge of his not making war on England, whilst he (Edward) was at war with France. This was declined, and at length Baliol, weary of interferences and indignities to which he was subjected by his feudal Lord, made a treaty with France of mutual aid and defence, which resulted in the invasion of Scotland by Edward, and the defeat and dethronement of the king. The strong places on the Border were reduced, and the castle and forest of Jedburgh committed to the charge of Thomas de Burnham, afterwards to Hugh de Eyland.

Whilst under the protection of England, the canons of Jedburgh lived in peace and security, but during the struggle with Wallace, the protection accorded by King Edward was either revoked or was not sufficient to curb the insatiate thirst for plunder of the soldiers, on both sides, who robbed and devastated religious houses without scruple.

Jedburgh did not escape; its cattle and grain were appropriated, the conventual buildings were destroyed, and even the lead of the church roof was stripped off, by Sir Richard Hastings, who refused to restore it even at the command of the king. The canons were reduced to a most deplorable condition, without a home to shelter them, with a roofless church in which to celebrate their devotional exercises, and brought to the point of starvation by the loss of their means of subsistence. So pitiable, indeed, was their position that King Edward compassionated them, and caused them to be distributed among other houses of the order in the north of England, with strict injunctions that they should be hospitably entertained until their house could be restored. The writ is still extant, assigning Ingelram de Colonia to the priory of Bridlington.

The dependant cell of Restinot was also impoverished and ruined, and its tithes and other revenues appropriated by the king's officers; but upon the petition of the Abbot of Jedburgh they were restored, and twenty oaks out of the forest of Platir granted to the brotherhood for the repairs of the church and other buildings.

When, under Bruce, in 1314, Scotland recovered its independence at Bannockburn, the Borders were not so fortunate as to participate, as Jedburgh and other strong fortresses were still held by the English, who not only exacted pecuniary contributions, but carried off their cattle and goods, and when resistance was made, burned down the buildings, in which the abbey was not exempt.

Sir James Douglas, surnamed the Good, was *circa* 1317 the chief protector of Teviotdale, who with his forces lay concealed in the forest of Jed, to cut off marauders from the English marches. Sir Thomas Richmond came over the Border with ten thousand men, supplied with woodmen's axes, to cut down the forest, but was surprised in a defile by Douglas with a small band of Teviotsdale men, defeated, and slain. As a reward for this valorous exploit Sir James had a grant from King Robert of the lordship of the town, castle, and forest of Jedburgh. Soon after the castle surrendered to the Scots; the precise time is not recorded, but as Berwick, the last to surrender, was recovered in 1318, it would be shortly previous to that date.

During these distracted times we have no record of the abbey; in fact it was non-existent, the residential buildings were demolished, the church was a ruin, and the canons were dispersed; and this lasted for a considerable period. When the retreating army of Edward II. crossed the Borders they burnt the abbeys of Melrose and Dryburgh, but do not appear to have visited Jedburgh, in consequence, doubtless, of its desolated condition.

By the treaty of peace in 1328 it was stipulated that the lands and revenues in England belonging to the abbeys of Jedburgh, Melrose, and Kelso, should be restored, and the orders for restoration of those of Jedburgh were addressed to the Abbess de Pratis, Northamptonshire, the Parson of Abbotslie, in Huntingdonshire, John de Bolynbroke, the king's Escheator, and Thomas de Featherstonhalgh.

King Edward III. formally renounced the overlordship of Scotland, but when circumstances were more favourable, resumed it. In 1329 King Robert Bruce died, and was succeeded by David II., at the age of six, when Edward Baliol invaded the country, supported by many powerful English nobles, was crowned after the battle of Duplin in 1322, but had to fly from the people, after having consented to hold his crown as a vassal of the English king. Edward offered to support David on the same condition, which was indignantly rejected; upon which, in 1333, he marched into Scotland with a formidable force, and reinstated his vassal, Baliol, after the battle of Halidon Hill, who the following year ceded to him lands and rents on the Borders, of the value of £2,000 per annum, in consideration of his aid. This concession included the town, castle, and forest of Jedburgh, and thus the abbey fell again under English rule. In the same year King Edward made an exchange of Annandale with Lord Henry Percy for the above and two other towns, which he bestowed on Edward de Bohun. But the

Scottish people objected to the rendition of so extensive a tract of their most fertile lands, and the people of Jedburgh and the forest absolutely refused to become subjects of the English king, in consequence of which the gifts and the exchange became a dead letter.

Edward Baliol, 29th. Jan., 1356, made a formal cession at Roxburgh Castle of his kingdom and personal estate to Edward III., for five hundred marks and an annual pension of £2,000, on which occasion there were present, as witnesses of the act, the Abbot of Jedburgh, and those of the other Teviotdale convents. Two years after, Robert, Abbot of Jedburgh, was sent with a letter of safety into England, on business of importance to King David, soon after his release from captivity, which he procured by paying a ransom of one hundred thousand marks.



JEDBURGH ABBEY.

During this period of struggle and contention, the canons of Jedburgh had a difficult and critical part to play, lying, as they did, between the opposing powers, now subject to one and then to the other, alternately, and being obliged to maintain an outward show of friendship with both; but even this politic course was not sufficient to save them from predatory visits and maltreatment from both sides. They appear to have returned to their house after their dispersion, to have patched up their church, and reconstructed in some rude fashion their dwellings; but of these events we have no records.

In 1373 the affairs of the abbey seem to have been in a better and more prosperous condition, when the canons had become exporters of wool, the growth of their own sheep; as in that year we find King Edward III. issuing an order to his officers of the customs at Berwick, forbidding them to exact more than half a mark of duty per sack of wool of the growth of Scotland, to the number of fourscore sacks, that should be exported by the abbeys of Jedburgh, Melrose, Dryburgh, and Kelso. He granted also, in the same year, letters of protection for three years on behalf of the abbots, monks, servants, and property of the same four monasteries. Still, notwithstanding these letters of protection, the country was in so lawless a state that it was unsafe to travel unless well armed, or with an escort. On one occasion,

about this period, some monks of Jedburgh and Dryburgh were sent into England, armed with such letters, to seek the recovery of some property, who were waylaid, robbed, and murdered. England still held the chief places of strength, but they were subjected to incessant attacks from the dispossessed landowners, hostile chiefs, and the ferocious peasantry and foresters around them, who in their guerilla mode of warfare cut off many of the English, with little danger to themselves. William, Earl of Douglas, was Warden of the March on one side, and the Earl of Northumberland on the other, who made constant raids on each other's territories, with an accompaniment of valorous deeds and romantic episodes, the themes of many an old ballad that stirred the souls of the Borderers as they listened to them from the



FROM NORTH-EAST.

lips of the minstrel in the hall of the castle or at gatherings of the people. The most famous of them was the battle of Otterbourne, or Chevy Chase, when

"Yt felle abowht the Lammas tide,
Whan husbands wynn ther haye,
The dowghtie Dowglasse bowynd hym to ryde
Yn Ynglond to take a praye."

In the course of which he fell in with the Earl of Northumberland and his son Henry Hotspur, and a fiercely contested battle, or rather skirmish, took place, when Douglas and the Earl of Murray were slain, and Hotspur, with his brother, Ralph Percy, captured by the Scots. This occurred in 1388, but four years before, by the persevering efforts of Douglas, the intruders were driven out of Teviotdale, and never again permanently occupied it; excepting only the garrisons of Jedburgh and Roxburgh, which were still held by the English, but in a state of siege, excepting during truces. The former was held by the English from the battle of Durham in 1346, until 1409, when it was wrested from them by the peasantry of Teviotdale. The castle stood on the brow of a hill, and the garrison had levied contributions upon the town with great oppression and cruelty, and when captured it was resolved to demolish it to prevent its falling again into the hands of the enemy. It was, however,

so massively built that this became a work of great difficulty and cost, and the States of the Realm, at Perth, laid a tax of twopence on every hearth through the kingdom to defray that cost, but the Duke of Albany, the regent, abrogated the order, and gave directions for the money to be paid out of the crown revenues.

The Earl of Northumberland and his son Hotspur, having fought successfully against the Scots at Homildon, in 1402, and having been instrumental in placing the usurper, Henry IV., on the throne, that monarch, in gratitude for their services and appreciation of their valour, made a grant (merely nominal, in reality,) to the Earl, of Teviotdale and all the Douglas lands; but the following year they rebelled, in consequence of a supposed indignity respecting the Scottish captives, were defeated at the battle of Shrewsbury, and Hotspur slain. The earl was pardoned, but deprived of the wardenship of the marches, and his Scottish grant abrogated, the castle and forest of Jedworth to be delivered up to Robert Swinowe, with all the rights of regality, the advowson of abbeys, priories, churches, and hospitals; from which it appears that the canons had lost their right of electing their abbot, as heretofore, and that it now lay in the hands of the lay patrons. The earl again broke out in rebellion against King Henry, and was slain at Bramham Moor in 1408.

In 1410 a naval expedition sailed up the Firth, under Sir Robert Umfraville, Vice Admiral of England, and Governor of Berwick, who made an inroad into Teviotdale, burned the town of Jedburgh, and ravaged the country along the banks of the river; and when it was rising from its ashes it was again destroyed by Richard Nevil, Earl of Warwick, as a punishment to the Borderers for having given assistance to Queen Margaret of Anjou.

Robert, Abbot of Jedburgh, was one of the commissioners sent by King James III. to meet those of England at Alnwick for settling the conditions of peace; and in 1494, Abbot Thomas went on a similar mission to Coldstream, for arranging the terms of a truce, and for a redress of grievances, one of these being trespasses by the English on the lands of Canonby, a priory subordinate to Jedburgh.

During this period of tribulation for Teviotdale and Jedburgh we have no record of the abbey's history, saving the above two references to the abbots, from which it would appear that it continued to exist, although it would doubtless suffer considerably in the successive raids of the English.

By this time, the Abbey of Jedburgh, along with almost all others, had undergone a transformation from their primitive simplicity, devotional piety, and comparative purity. It had become to a great extent secularised, and although the forms and ceremonials of religion were observed, the canons were nothing more than lay men in the monastic garb, living lives of ease and retirement, of literary leisure, and it is to be feared too often of luxurious habits and dissolute sensuality, whilst the headship became the appanage of some neighbouring aristocratic family. Thus in 1513 the abbacy of Jedburgh was held by John, a younger son of Lord Home, whose family had a feud with the regent, the Duke of Albany, who, in 1516, under the frivolous pretence of being accessory to the death of King James IV., at Flodden, caused William Lord Home, brother of the abbot, to be beheaded, and the abbot himself to be deprived and banished.

In the year 1513 the citizens of Jedburgh founded a convent of Franciscan Friars of the Observantine Order, otherwise the Mendicant or Begging Friars. Their rules were exceedingly severe; they were to possess no land, excepting the site on which their house stood; to subsist only on alms, the friars going about with a wallet on the shoulder, for the reception of broken victuals which they begged; and to go barefooted, wearing only a woollen robe, girt with a rope, and having a cowl for the head. Adam Abel, or Bell, a canon of Inchaffy, the author of *Rota Temporum*, the Wheel of Time, a work beginning at the creation and ending at 1585, written in Latin, and printed at Rome, changed his order, and became an inmate of the Jedburgh Friary, where he ended his days.

Until the Battle of Flodden, in 1513, the Borders enjoyed for a time a period of repose, after which "the mountain passes of the Cheviots and the glens of Teviotdale again re-echoed the harsh clang and barbarous uproar of hereditary warfare."

Thomas, Baron Dacre, Warden of the Middlemarch, thus describes, in a letter to the Bishop of Durham, a raid he made into Teviotdale in 1513:—"Ascertyning yr Lordship, that sens I mett the Chamberlayne, on Setterday was sevin-night, I caused iij roods to be made in Tevidale; oone to the toure of Howpaslet and there brynt, tooke and brought away xxxiij score sheep, with insight and goodes; another rood to Carlanrig, made be the inhabitants of Tynedale and Riddesdale, to the castle of Ancram, and brynt the town of the same, and toke and brought away lx prisoners, with much goodes, cattle, and insight; and thre roods in Annandale, wher as gret destruction was, both of brynning and taking of goodes; and over that I entend Tividale shal be kept waking whils I deale with them myselfe." Then in a letter to King Henry he describes how he dealt with them:—"Opon Thuresday," he writes, "I asembled yr Grace's subjects in Northomberland, to the nombre of 1,000 horsemen, and rode in at Gamellespeth, and so to the watter of Kale ij mile within Scotland, and ther sett furth ij forages; my brother, Philip Dacre, with ccc men, which brynt and destroyed the town of Rowcastell, with al the cornes in the same and thereabouts, and wan ij townes in it, and brent bothe roffe and flores; and Sir Roger Fenwicke with ccc men brynt the towne of Langton, and destroyed all the cornes therein; which townes are in the hert of the countrie, ij myles beyond Jedworth, upon the watter of the Chevyot; and I come with a stale to a place called Dungyon, a mile frae Jedworth, and so went to the Sclaterford and the watter of Howset, and there the Scots perseued us right sore. Thei bekered with us, and gave us hard stroks. There was come to Standers to bak theym, that is to say, Daudid Karre of Fernhirst, and the Laird of Bondgeworth, opon the oone syd, and the Sheref of Tevidale on the other syd, to the nombre of dccc men or mo. The Ld. of Walghope was hert ther with an arrowe, and his hors slane; Mark Trumbill was stricken with a spere, and the hede left in him.....Sir John Ratcliffe came to a toure ful of men, and thei layed corne and strawe to the dore, and brynt it, both rofe and flore, and so smoked them out. They brynt the townes of Sowdon and Lurches, bothe with a toure in yt; also the towne of Hyndhalghede, West Fawsyde, and East Fawsyde, with a pele of lyme and stane in it," etc.

The Borderers of Teviotdale not being able, in consequence of the constant passing to and fro of warlike plunderers, to cultivate their lands or protect their cattle, merged into a nest of bandits and outlaws. They had at this time five years of peace from external foes, but what with the jealousies and feuds of rival chiefs and families, rapine, disorder, and fighting became the normal state of things amongst themselves. In the struggle for power between the Regent and the Homes, *supra*, Sir Andrew Kerr, of Fernihirst, Seneschal or Bailiff of Jedburgh Abbey, was apprehended as an accomplice of the Homes, in one of the charges brought against him, that of encouraging and abetting the Teviotdale peasantry and foresters in their acts of brigandage, but he escaped death either by acquittal or by favour of the regent. As bailiff of the abbey he claimed, in 1519, jurisdiction over Jed Forest, as part of the lordship of the abbey, which was disputed by the Earl of Angus, the owner, and which ended, as was usual in those rough days, with broken heads and slaughtered men. Kerr of Cessford, Warden of the Middlemarch, sided with the earl, and proceeding towards Kelso, met Sir James Hamilton, with a company of Mersemen and forty outlaws, going to join the bailiff, and a skirmish took place. At the onset thirty of the Mersemen deserted; Hamilton and thirty horsemen were captured, and eight men slain. The bailiff upon this conceded the point, and for the future held the forest court as the baillie of the Earl of Angus.

In April, 1522, war broke out again with England; the English warden entered Teviotdale with two thousand men; "and came to Leynton Tower, and sett upon it with speres and shields, and in conclusion or it was past none, wan it and brant it clene down to the bare

stones and walles." In July, the Earl of Surrey entered the dale with an army when the corn was ripening, with a view of destroying the crops. He was accompanied by Lords Dacre and Ross, who advanced as far as Kelso, and burnt it. But by this time the beacons had been set blazing on the hill tops, and the men of Teviotdale responding to the summons, gathered together and drove the invaders back across the Border, taking many prisoners. In this expedition eighteen fortified places were demolished.

In the following year the Earl of Surrey entered Teviotdale, burnt some twenty towns and villages, and returned "with their botie, which was iiij hede of nete" (cattle). In September he crossed the Border again, for the purpose of destroying Jedburgh, then a much



NEW JEDBURGH

more important place than now, defended by six strong forts, and houses for lodging a thousand troops. He had six thousand men under his command, with the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Dacre, and other sub-commanders. Although gallantly defended by fifteen hundred to two thousand men, the town having no walls, was soon taken. In his letter to King Henry VIII., referring to this event, he says, "Pleisith your Grace to be advertised that upon Fridaye, at x a clok at nyght, I returned to this towne and all the garnysons to their places assigned, the bishopricke men, my Lorde of Westmoreland and my Lord Dacre, in likewise, every man home with their companys, without loss of any men, thanked be God; saving viii or x slayne, and dyvers hurt, at skirmishes and saults of the town of Gedworth and the forterisis; which towne is soo surely brent that no garnysons ner none other shal

be lodged there unto the time it bee newe builded; the brennyng wherof I commytted to twoo sure men, Sir William Bulmer and Thomas Tempeste. The town was much better than I went [weened or supposed] it had beene, for there was twoo tymys moo houses therein then in Berwicke, and well builded, with many honest and fair houses therein.....which towne and towers be clenely destroyed, brent, and throwen down." Leaving, as he states, Bulmer and Tempest to complete the work of destruction at Jedburgh, the earl himself went with a detachment to attack the abbey, which occupied him "until two hours after nightfall," when it was taken, pillaged, and burnt, and from which it never recovered.



NORMAN ARCHES IN NAVE.

The next day he sent Lord Dacre, with Sir Charles, his brother, to attack Fernihirst Castle, then held by Sir Andrew Kerr, a man of great courage and abilities in Border warfare, and distinguished as much in state affairs as in the field, who died in 1545. The castle was situated on an eminence in the forest, and exceedingly difficult of access. They had with them eight hundred men, who had to drag their cannon up an acclivity, through thick and entangled brushwood, and to fight every step of the way against ambushed foes, but by perseverance and valour they "gat forthe th' ordynance within the howse, and threwe downe the same. At which skyrmyshe my seid Lord Dacre and his brother, Sir Cristofer, Sir Arthure, and Sir Marmaduke did marvellously hardly, and found the best resistance that hath been seene with my comyng to their parties, and above xxxii Scottis sleyne and not passing iij Englishmen, but above xl hurt." Sir Andrew was taken prisoner, but ransomed soon after.

The victors returned to Jedburgh, and encamped, raising a rampart of waggons around. Lord Dacre, who had lingered on the road, came in and encamped outside; and during the night the devil got amongst his horses, and produced so much confusion that the English imagined the Scots were upon them, and shot away a hundred sheaves of arrows before they discovered their mistake, which is thus narrated by Surrey in his letter to the king: — "And he (Lord Dacre) being with me at souper about viii a clok, the horses of his company brak lowse, and sodenly ran owt of his feld in such nombre, that it caused a marvellous alarome in our feld; and our standing watche being sett, the horses cam rounyng alonge the campe, at whome we shot above one hundred shief of arrowes and dyvers gonnys, thinking that they had been Scots that wold have saulted the campe; fynally the horses were so madde that they ran like wilde dere into the feld, above xvc at the leest, in dyvers companys, and in one place above l felle downe a grete rok and slew thymself, and above ijc ran into the towne, being on fire, and by the women taken and carried awaye right evill brent..... I think there is lost above viiic horses.....I dare not write the wondres that my Lord Dacre and all his company doo saye they sawe that nyght vj tymys of spirits and fereful sights, and unyversally all their company saye playnly, the devil was that nyght among theym vi tymys, which mysfortune hath blemysht the best journey that was made in Scotland many yeres."

Unfortunate Teviotdale continued to be ravaged and desolated until, as Lord Dacre said, "Little or nothing was left upon the frontiers of Scotland, without it be parte of old houses, whereof the thak and covering are taken away, by reason whereof they cannot be brint." The people were reduced to such distress, that in order to live they were compelled perforce to become robbers of the English across the Border, despite any existing truce, saying that what had been taken from them by force they had a right to recover by force. The Bishop of Glasgow excommunicated them, but they regarded it not; and the regent, the Earl of Angus, came into the district in 1529, apprehended and put to death several of the leaders, which produced so good an effect that "thereafter there was great peace and rest a long time."

During the twenty years that had elapsed since the destruction of Jedburgh by the Earl of Surrey, the town had risen up from its ashes, had become populous, and was defended by new towers of great strength; but a breach with England occurred again in 1542, when Sir Robert Bowes, accompanied by the exiled Douglasses, entered Teviotdale with three thousand horse, with a view of again destroying the town, but they were defeated at Haddenrig by Lords Huntly and Home, and compelled to retreat. In the same year the Earl of Surrey (now Duke of Norfolk) again crossed the Border, burnt Kelso, but was obliged to retire through lack of provisions.

Negociations had been set on foot for the marriage of Prince Edward of England with the Princess Mary of Scotland, an alliance which the king heartily desired, as it would unite the two crowns of the island in the person of their offspring; but the match was broken off, and "the wrath of the disappointed monarch discharged itself in a wide-wasting and furious invasion of the East Marches, conducted by the Earl of Hertford," brother to Lady Jane Seymour, afterwards Duke of Somerset, who wrote to the king that there should be "a warden's rode made into Jedworth," not doubting but with the Grace of God they would be able to win the town and also the church or abbey, which was thought a house of some strength, and might be made a good fortress; from which it would appear that it had been repaired, and to some extent rebuilt.

Lord Eure and his son Sir Ralph soon after advanced upon the town and demanded its surrender. The Provost asked time until noon to decide, but Eure thinking this a pretext to obtain assistance from the country, rushed into the town on three sides, captured and then burnt it with the towers and the Franciscan convent, carried off their seven cannon, and loaded five hundred horses with pillage. "They laid waste the whole vale of Teviot, with a

ferocity of devastation hitherto unheard of." In Hayne's *State Papers*, is given a list of places destroyed in these forays, consisting of "seven monasteries and freerhouses; sixteen castles, toures, and peles; five market townes; two hundred and forty-three villages; thirteen mylns; and three spytells and hospitals."

In the following August Teviotdale had another visit from Lord Eure, when he killed eighty Scots, took thirty prisoners, destroyed the growing crops, and carried off two hundred and twenty oxen and four hundred sheep. In the succeeding spring, along with Sir Brian Laiton, at the head of fifteen hundred English Borderers and three thousand mercenaries, he again occupied Jedburgh with a view of completely subjugating Teviotdale to English rule. The Earls of Arran and Angus advanced against them with three hundred horse, hoping for reinforcements on the road. They reached Melrose without much addition to their force, when, hearing of the proximity of the English, they retired to await the arrival of their supports. The English came to Melrose, when, finding themselves thwarted, they spoiled the town, and were returning to Jedburgh with their booty, when the Earls, having been joined by Lesley and Sir Walter Scott of Buccleugh, fell upon them at Ancram, with a much inferior force, completely defeated them, and took Eure and Laiton, with eight hundred of their men prisoners. This battle put an end to all hopes of permanent conquest, although the defeat was avenged in September, by the Earl of Hertford, who again laid Teviotdale waste, and more completely destroyed what remained of the monastic buildings.

As Jedburgh Abbey had been burnt the previous year, what was destroyed now could only have been the temporary habitations of the monks, as there could not have been time for any substantial repairs of the church. The wars, however, were not yet over; whilst Eure and Laiton were ravaging Teviotdale, the Earls of Home and Bothwell, and the Abbots of Jedburgh and Dryburgh, with three thousand men, Scottish and French, made a retaliatory raid into Northumberland, where they burnt some towns and villages, but were driven back by the Governor of Norham, with the loss of two hundred men slain or drowned, and sixty made prisoners.

In 1547, was fought the disastrous battle of Pinkie, in which the Earl of Arran was defeated by the Earl of Hertford, with the loss of ten thousand men; and, "the Borderers saw with dread and detestation the ruinous fortress of Roxburgh once more receive an English garrison, and the widow of Lord Home driven from his baronial castle, to make room for the 'Southern Reivers.'"

Dessé, the commander of the French auxiliaries, was sent to dislodge the English. At the request of Ker, the Laird of Fernihirst, he went to retake the castle, which was held by sixty to eighty English. He gained the base court by means of long poles, with which he scaled the walls, and then got into the keep by mining, under an incessant shower of missiles from the battlements. The commander surrendered, and implored that his life might be spared. "Immediately, however, one of the Scotsmen, recognising in him the ravisher of his wife, came suddenly behind and struck off his head, with so dexterous a blow that it leaped four or five paces from his body; and then the Borderers, with savage ferocity, vied with each other in mangling and insulting the carcass, and in tearing out the eyes of the prisoners, and inflicting other torments before putting them to death." Beaugé, a French general who was present, gives this narrative in his *Campagnes de Beaugé*, and adds, "The English, during the three or four months they held the castle, committed such barbarous atrocities that, although he disapproved of the cruelty of the Scots, he could not but think that it was a fair retaliation."

Dessé took up his quarters in Jedburgh, but on the approach of the Earl of Rutland, with eight thousand men, he retired.

The peace of 1550 made little difference to the Borderers on both sides, who went on as usual, marauding and murdering each other, which brought Mary of Guise, the Regent

Queen Dowager, to Jedburgh, in 1552, to hold a court of justice, when she knighted some of the chiefs who were not guilty of these practices, and compelled others to deposit pledges for their future good conduct. Nine years afterwards, her daughter, Queen Mary, held a similar court there, and caused many of the culprits to be punished; and in 1566 she was at another court there, when she committed the fatal error of going to visit Bothwell, who had been wounded by some Liddesdale outlaws, and nearly lost her life in a morass on her return.

At length, in 1575, at a meeting of the Wardens of the Middle Marches, Sir John Carmichael on the Scottish side, and Sir John Forster on the English, for a redress of grievances, a sudden quarrel broke out, and a conflict took place at Reidswire, or as it was then called, Reidsquhair, at the foot of Carter Hill, in the Cheviots, about ten miles from Jedburgh, which resulted in the defeat of the English, and was, happily, the concluding Border fight, the two countries a quarter of a century afterwards becoming united under one monarch.

The Reformation, and the Dissolution of the Abbey.

Although the seeds of the Reformation of Religion had long been germinating in the Scottish soil, their fructification did not take place until some time after those of England. In the latter country Wyclif had prepared the way for throwing off the yoke of Rome, but it is probable that the Reformation would have been delayed for several years but for the lustful, avaricious, and ambitious desires of the eighth Henry. He quarrelled with the Pope about the divorce of Catherine of Aragon, having become enamoured of Anne Boleyn; he desired to be spiritual as well as temporal King of England: hence he renounced the Papal supremacy, and caused himself to be proclaimed Head of the Anglican Church; and in order to fill his own coffers, and attach more firmly to his throne the nobles of the land, he adopted the bold expedient of suppressing the monasteries, and appropriating their revenues for his own use and that of his friends. In Scotland it was different. There the monarchs who occupied the throne remained attached to the old faith, until the accession of James VI., and even he, although he sanctioned the establishment of Presbyterianism, disliked it, and afterwards endeavoured to overthrow it. Lollardism had penetrated into Scotland at an early period, James Resesby, a disciple of Wyclif, being burnt for heresy in 1406 or 1407. In the following century Lutheranism was extensively propagated, and Patrick Hamilton sent to the stake in 1528, for preaching those doctrines, as were several others; and many fled to England to avoid persecution. About this time the country was divided between two parties, one headed by the bishops, who resisted all change, the other the Reformers, consisting of many of the clergy and the burghers of the towns, who in 1546 came into deadly conflict, George Wishart, the most eloquent of the Reformed preachers, being condemned to death by an ecclesiastical court, over which Cardinal Beaton presided, who, in retaliation, was murdered by the Reformers. The struggle continued during the regency of the Earl of Arran and the Dowager Queen Mary, until 1559, when the Reformers felt themselves strong enough to set them at defiance, their leader being John Knox, recently come from Geneva, where he had imbibed the principles of Calvin. So great was their ascendancy, that in the Parliament of 1560 they succeeded in getting acts passed abolishing the jurisdiction of the Pope, proscribing the mass, and establishing a Confession of Faith, drawn up by Knox and his associates, the form of worship being modelled on that of Geneva.

The abbey ceased to exist as a spiritual establishment in 1560, after a duration of nearly four and a half centuries of remarkable vicissitudes, and the brethren who then occupied it (not very spiritually-minded men, it is to be feared,) were turned adrift into the highways, with no knowledge of handicraft, to become beggars, moss-troopers, soldiers, or what not. Two years

afterwards, an estimate was made of the property belonging to the abbey, and was found to consist of the following items, including the subordinate priories of Restenot and Canonby:—

£1,274 10s. Scots money. Two chalders and two bolls of wheat. Twenty-three chalders of barley. Thirty-six chalders, thirteen bolls, one firlo, and one peck of meal.

Landed property.—The Baronies of Ulfstown, Ancrum, Windington, Belshes, Reperlaw, and Abbotrule.

Spiritual possessions.—The kirks of Jedburgh, Eckford, Hownam, Langenewton, Dalmeny, Oxnam, Selbie, Wanchope, Castletoun, Crailing, Nesbit, Plenderleith, Hopkirk, Forfar, Drunyvald, and Aberlemno.

In 1569, King James VI. made a grant to the provost, magistrates, and community of Jedburgh, of all the property and revenues of the abbey that lay within the parish, for the purpose of maintaining hospitals for the sick, almshouses for the aged poor, schools for poor children, etc., which was ratified by the Parliament; “but no infestment appears to have



NAVE, LOOKING WEST.

been taken upon it, and there is no trace of any particular subject having been taken possession of, under it.” The revenues were annexed to the crown, with a pension payable thereout to the surrendering abbot, George, a younger son of the fourth Lord Home.

At the time of the dissolution the bailiery of the convent estates, as well as that of the forest of Jedburgh, was held by the Laird of Fernihirst, but whether he retained the office in respect to the former is uncertain, as in 1587, Sir Andrew Kerr was either confirmed in the office or had a restoration of it from the hands of James VI.

In 1622, the lands and baronies held by the canons of Jedburgh, were erected into a temporal lordship, and granted to Sir Andrew Kerr, with the title of Baron Jedburgh, with remainder to his heirs male. He died *s.p.* in 1631, and was succeeded by his half brother James, as second Baron, whose son Robert, failing issue, obtained an extension of the entail to William Kerr, his kinsman, son and heir of Robert, fourth Earl and first Marquis of Lothian, and to be held as a distinct peerage by the eldest son of the Earl of Lothian for the time being, for ever, as it still continues.

Respecting the contrast of Teviotdale, in the good old times of rapine, murder, and war, before the fall of the abbey, with what it became in more recent times of security, order,

and good government, with more fastidious sentiments on the rights of *meum et tuum*, Pennant, who visited the dale in 1772, writes,—“From what I can collect, the country is greatly depopulated. In the reign of James VI., or a little before the union, it is said that this country could send out fifteen thousand fighting men; at present it could not raise three thousand. *But plundering in those times was the trade of the Borderers, which might occasion the multitude of inhabitants.*” Since then, however, Teviotdale has prospered and become the seat of pastoral and agricultural industry, with smiling cornfields and meadows, and of a contented and happy community, who can reap their harvests, and leave their cattle untended without the least dread of an inroad of reivers or ferocious soldiery, or of seeing their houses and barns burnt over their heads.

The Ruins of Jedburgh Abbey.

The church alone, in a sadly mutilated state, is almost all that remains, the residential buildings, chapter house, cloisters, etc., having almost entirely disappeared. When complete, the church was one of the finest ecclesiastical buildings in Scotland, and even now, in ruin, it presents a majestic appearance, seated as it is on the south side of the town, on a sloping eminence above the river, with its triple range of windows, and its tower a hundred feet in height. Turner made a sketch of it for Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Border*, which is somewhat idealized, but it presents the church standing out grandly on the upland, not unlike the cathedrals of Lincoln and Durham, with the river winding past in the foreground, and washing some remaining fragments of the outworks.

It seems to have been planned in the usual style of monastic buildings, with the monks' quarters, the chapter house, refectory, kitchens, and cloisters on the south of the church, for the purpose of shelter from the keen blasts of the north, and of enjoying the warmth and cheering beams of the southern sun. The cemetery lay to the north, and probably the infirmary; whilst to the east was the abbot's house, a squalid old house being still in existence which tradition says was their residence, and in the neighbourhood are some pear-trees, estimated to be three hundred years old, which probably stood in the abbey orchard.

Three or four distinct styles of architecture may be seen in the church, which shews that, as was generally the case, it was gradually built and perfected, or underwent in subsequent times partial rebuilding, or repairs in the prevalent style of the period. The chancel, the portion usually first built, for the performance of divine service, presents remains of Saxon piers, with deeply splayed arches, and over these some Norman work. As the monastery was not established until the former style had passed away, and the latter was merging into the Transitional, it seems probable that King David's monastery was a re-edification of a former Columban establishment, and that these are remains of the old church. It would appear that the nave was the next portion built, as it presents in its narrow lancet windows, blank arches, and wheel window of the west end, Early English features. Then followed the transepts, of which the northern only remains, which are of the early decorated style, with the buttresses and windows of that period; and the tower, a square massive structure, with projecting battlements, angular corner turrets, and supported on four lofty and substantial pillars at the intersection, was perhaps the last feature added, completing the structure.

Although we are thus enabled to understand the gradual upgrowth of the edifice, we find in all parts a mingling of styles, as, for instance, the Norman doors of the Early English nave, shewing that the builders introduced what they considered beautiful of former styles; and in the north transept, the beautiful traceried window, of later date, and which seems to have replaced one or more windows of an earlier period.

Archibald Elliot, the architect, in a report to the “heritors” on some suggested repairs, said, “The venerable pile, in my opinion, is the most perfect and beautiful example of the

Saxon and Early Gothic in Scotland. Its grand appearance is imposing, and admirably accords with the scenery of the romantic valley in which it is situate." Robert Chambers, says, "Though the west end of the church has been mutilated into a parish church, in a style too shocking to be patiently described, while the eastern end is partly ruinous, enough remains to impress the spectator with a high idea of its original beauty and magnificence. Some patriotic individuals have lately expended a considerable sum upon such repairs as seemed calculated to prevent further dilapidation, and their operations have been conducted with the greatest taste and success." There were in the church two altars besides the High Altar, one dedicated to St. Ninian, and the other to St. Mungo, the latter endowed in 1479 by James Newton, "Parson of Bedrule."

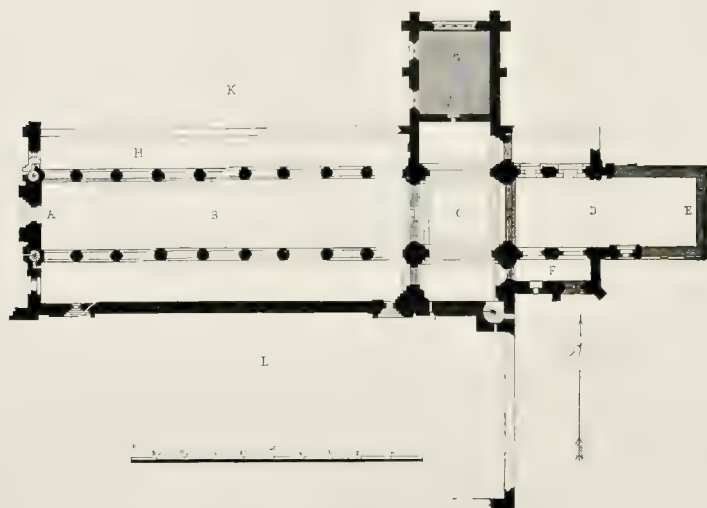
The church was cruciform in shape, with nave, chancel, and transepts; altogether two hundred and thirty feet in length. The choir, which appears to have consisted of two bays, has to a great extent disappeared, but gives evidence of great antiquity. On the south side, at the western end, is a chapel, made use of in modern times for the Grammar School, where the poet Thomson received the rudiments of his education. It is said that he pictured the gathering of the mountain-storm in his *Winter*, from his observation of such effects on Rubershaw, a neighbouring hill, when seated at his desk there. There are indications of a similar chapel flanking the choir on the northern side also; one of them opening from the north, the other from the south transept. The nave, one hundred and thirty feet in length, with its side aisles of nine bays, and three ranges of windows, must have presented to the eye a noble vista, with its great western window and wheel window in the gable, when in its completed state, and unmarred by the unseemly intruder. The double row of columns, eight on each side, are clustered with sculptured capitals, behind which are the aisle windows, with pointed arches, deeply recessed and richly moulded; the second range of windows opening above the triforium, have beautifully moulded semicircular arches, enclosing each two lancets; and the third range, in the clerestory, forms a splendid arcade of lancets in groups of four, in couplets alternately blank and clear. The west gabled front is strikingly grand, divided into a centre and two flanks, separated by buttresses, formerly finished with octagonal turrets. The western doorway, of uncommon beauty, is Norman in style; the arch, seven feet and a half in depth, is ornamented with an elaboration of mouldings—the chevron, the lozenge, the banded, etc.—and is supported on slender pillars. Above the doorway is a two-lighted transomed window, forming the centre of an arcade, with slender pillared supports, the flanking arches on each side being blank. There is also a Norman window to each aisle, and in the gable a marigold window. On the south side there is another Norman doorway, opening into the cloister quadrangle, presenting great beauty of form and richness of detail, being considered by architect and connoisseurs even superior to the western doorway, and the chief object of architectural interest in the church. "For elegance of workmanship, and the symmetry of its proportions, it is unrivalled in Scotland: its sculptured mouldings, springing from slender shafts with capitals richly wreathed, exhibit the representations of flowers, men, and various animals, executed with surprising minuteness and delicacy." This doorway having become decayed, and some of the ornamental work eaten away by the tooth of time, the present Marquis of Lothian has recently caused a facsimile to be made, "which has been completed in a manner that cannot fail to satisfy the most severe critic," and has been placed in the same south wall, a little to the westward of the original. The five western bays of the nave had been for some time partitioned off for use as the parish church, which not only destroyed the fine vista, but by its incongruity of style was a most tasteless disfigurement. The late Marquis of Lothian, the owner of the abbey ruins, desiring to clear out the excrescence, undertook to build, at his own cost, a new parish church, but died in 1870, before the negotiations were completed. He was succeeded by his brother, the present Marquis, who has since carried out his intentions by building a new church, which was opened in 1875, and causing

the materials of the old church to be cleared away from the nave, which now presents the same aspect that it did when its aisles were trodden by the monks, and its roof re-echoed the melodies of their anthems. The south transept has disappeared, but the north remains in a tolerable state of preservation; it is aisleless. It has a window of great size and beauty, consisting of four trefoiled lights and flowing geometrical tracery, with a foliated cross above on the gable. The Kerrs, now Marquises of Lothian, have for many ages made this transept their place of burial.

The tower stands on four massive clustered columns and arches, with chevroned mouldings. North and south, over the low-pitched roofs of the transepts, are pointed arches, and on the east and west open arches of a different pitch; above are triple trefoiled windows on each face, beneath a pierced parapet, and rising above this a double belfry.

The walls of the church still exhibit marks, which time and the elements have not yet obliterated, of blackened patches caused by the flames lighted up by the Earl of Surrey three hundred and fifty years ago. In modern times considerable injury has been done, in a picturesque point of view, by the owners of the ruin, by the removal of considerable portions of the church, notably of two fine doorways; an unpardonable piece of vandalism.

There are very few remains of the appendant buildings. Perhaps if excavations were made the foundations might be traced, so as to give a tolerably accurate idea of the plan. As it is, we have nothing to guide us save a fragment of wall some sixty feet south of the southern transept, and some foundations which have been dug up at considerable distances south and east of the church. In making a road through a portion of the ancient limits of the burial-ground, two tiers of stone coffins were found; but beyond these nothing remains or has been discovered of the places where the canons of Jedburgh ate and slept, studied and transcribed manuscripts, entertained wayfarers, and distributed alms to the poor that congregated at their gate.



ARCHITECTURAL PLAN OF JEDBURGH ABBEY

A. West Entrance.
B. Nave.
C. Tower.
D. Choir.
E. Altar.

F. Chapel.
G. North Transept.
H. North Aisle.
K. Graveyard.
L. Garden.









FROM THE EAST.

The Cistercian Abbey of Riebauly.



THE attention of travellers by railway from York to Scarborough is arrested, when approaching Malton, by the sight of an exceedingly beautiful gateway, to the north of the line, which comes suddenly into view, nestling amid the foliaged trees of a once secluded vale. It is the chief remaining feature of the Augustinian Priory of Kirkham, and occupies the site of the baronial mansion of Sir Walter d'Espece, Knight, of Norman extraction, who was the feudal lord of the surrounding territory, as he was also of Hamlake (Helmsley), Warden in Bedfordshire, and of many another broad-acred estate. Kirkham was his place of residence, where he had a stately mansion, called by some old historians a palace, living in baronial splendour, with a large retinue of dependents and domestic servants, and maintaining an hospitable table, round which might generally be seen visitors, representatives of the first families of the north of England. He was one of the most notable men and distinguished warriors of the twelfth century, and was an important personage at the court of Henry I. He was also Justice of the Forests of Yorkshire, and in 1130 was Justice

Itinerant, in conjunction with Eustace Fitz John and Geoffrey de Clints, for the counties of York, Durham, and Cumberland. Aelred, Abbot of Rievaulx, describes him as "prudent in council and discreet in war; a trusty friend and a loyal subject; a giant-like stature, but comely, having large eyes, a big face, and a voice like a trumpet, yet beautiful and eloquent."

The most famous exploit of D'Espece was at the battle of the Standard, in which he held a chief command, and by his valour and eloquence contributed essentially to the victory. On the accession of Stephen of Blois to the English throne, King David I. of Scotland crossed the Borders, sword in hand, to maintain the right of his niece Maud, the Empress, against the usurper. Thrice in the year 1138 he invaded Northumberland, and took some fortresses. On the third occasion he penetrated as far as Northallerton, in Yorkshire, when Thurstan, the aged Archbishop of York, rallied round him the barons of the north, with their feudal followers, and marched to meet the enemy. Mindful, however, of not depending upon the secular arm alone, he invoked the aid of the three great saints of Saxon Yorkshire—St. Peter of York, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfrid of Ripon. He then caused a car to be constructed, on which he fixed the mast of a ship, brought from the monastery of Beverley, and fastened thereto the sacred standards of the three saints, the whole surmounted by a silver crucifix, and above all, in a silver pix, the consecrated host. Round this four-wheeled car, with the banners floating in the breeze, were ranged the picked men of the army, as they came up with the enemy, on Cowton Moor. The soldiers being drawn up for battle, Robert de Brus addressed them in an eloquent and spirit-stirring harangue, after whom Walter d'Espece mounted the car, and in sonorous tones, which might be heard all over the field, "put them in mind of the famous exploits which had been done of old by the valour of their ancestors in foreign parts, and in particular against the Scottish nation; assuring them that to vindicate the vile profanations which that barbarous people had made in all holy places where they came, St. Michael and his angels, and St. Peter with the apostles (whose churches were by them made stables), would fight, yea, that the martyrs, with their glorious company, whose altars they had defiled, would lead them on; likewise that they and the sacred virgin would intercede for them by their devout prayers; and that Christ himself would take up his shield and rise up to their aid." And having ended his speech he turned himself to the Earl of Albemarle, and gave him his hand, saying, "I faithfully promise you that I will conquer the Scots this day, or lose my life by them." So says Hailes, in his *Annals of Scotland*, and Abbot Aelred adds, "which courageous expression did put such spirit into all the noblemen there, that each of them made the like vow to the other; and to take away all opportunity of flight, sent their horses to a distance, resolving to fight on foot and conquer or lose their lives." The Archbishop through illness was unable to go beyond Thirsk, but commissioned Ralph, Bishop of Orkney, to take his place, who also delivered an oration, after which "all the English replied with a shout, and the mountains and hills re-echoed 'Amen! Amen!'" At the same moment the Scots shouted their war cry, "Albanigh! Albanigh!" and immediately "the sounds were drowned amid the crash of arms." Both sides fought with great bravery, but in the result the Scots were utterly defeated, with the loss of ten or eleven thousand men, the king and his son narrowly escaping capture by flight, whilst that of the English was comparatively small, Gilbert de Lacy being the only knight slain.

By his wife Adelina, Walter d'Espece had an only son, "a comely person, and the joy of his heart," who, in the early portion of the century, was a high-spirited youth, growing up to manhood, and promising to become a fitting heir to the lands of his father, and an inheritor of his warlike abilities. He took great delight in field sports, and especially in riding and breaking in intractable horses; but one day as he was indulging in this exercise, his horse stumbled at Frithby, near Kirkham, when he was thrown heavily to the ground, and killed on the spot.

Grief-stricken at his loss, and rendered heirless, he went to consult his uncle, William

d'Espece, who was Rector of Garton-on-the-Wolds, as to the disposal of his extensive estates at his death. "You have now no heir," replied the priest, "to inherit your lands, therefore make Christ your heir. After making suitable provision for your three sisters, apply the residue to the foundation of religious houses, to the glory of God, which will not only benefit your own soul, but that of your son as well, whose untimely death we deplore, which indeed may prove to be a blessing in disguise, by leading you to such an appropriation of your wealth as may be of inestimable spiritual benefit to yourself and to thousands in future ages."

Sir Walter concurred in the idea suggested by his uncle, perceiving at once, as was then usual, when nobles and knights as well as the common people implicitly followed the guiding of the fathers of the church, that by so doing great spiritual benefit would accrue to himself and his family, as well as to his dead son, and at once set about carrying out the project. He first set up a stone cross on the spot where the youth met his fate, to serve at once as a monument to his memory, and as a roadside place where wayfarers might perform their devotions. Then, in 1121, he converted his mansion at Kirkham into a priory of Austin Canons to the honour of the Holy Trinity, endowing it with seven churches, certain lands, and amongst other things a tithe of all the venison which he or his heirs should kill, and of all fowl "catch'd in and about his rivers," as well as a tenth of the rents of all his estates in Northumberland, and constituted his uncle the first prior. At the Dissolution there were seventeen monks; the gross annual income was estimated at £300 15s. 4d.; and John Kelwick, the last prior, who surrendered it, was granted a pension of £50 per annum. The site was granted, 32 Henry VIII., to Henry Knyvett and his wife Ann, from whom it passed, it does not appear how or why, to Henry Manners, second Earl of Rutland, and fourteenth Baron de Ros, and descended through female heiresses from Walter d'Espece, as in the 3rd. Edward VI. he held Kirkham *de rege in capite*, and in the 5th. Elizabeth had license to alienate it and Rievaulx with other manors to Edward Jackman and Richard Lambert. The gateway mentioned above, a fine Norman doorway, and some portions of the cloisters, are all the fragments that remain of this once noble building.

Ten years afterwards he founded Rievaulx for the Cistercian Order, and in 1135, fourteen years after the foundation of Kirkham, established the abbey of Warden, or De Sartis, in Bedfordshire, which he colonized by a draught of monks from Rievaulx. It was suppressed 26 Henry VIII., when the gross income was found to be £442 11s. 11d., net £389 16s. 6½d., per annum, and was surrendered by the last prior, Henry Emery, and fourteen monks. The ruins, situated about two miles from the parish church of Warden, are of brick, and of no great antiquity. They constituted part of the conventual buildings only, the church having perished.

It was after he had founded his three monasteries that Sir Walter performed the crowning military achievement of his life at the battle of the Standard, and made his name famous through the minstrelsy of the ballad-singers, who sang

"And who's yon chief of giant height,
And bulk so huge to see?
Walter Espece is that chief's name,
And a potent knight is he.
His stature's large as the mountain oak,
And eke as strong his might;
There's never a chief in all the north
Can dare with him to fight."

It is probable that after having given up his mansion at Kirkham to the canons for a priory he took up his residence upon his manor at Hamlake, where Peter de Ros, ancestor of the Barons de Ros, of Hamlake, was his neighbouring landowner, a circumstance which led to the matrimonial alliance between the families. Here it is probable he lived for the next thirty years, when, having waxen old in years, and, it may be assumed, lost his wife,

and reft of all that was dear to him, in 1151 he entered his abbey of Rievaulx, and submitted himself to the then severe austerities of the Cistercian rule. Two years after, in 1153, he died, and was buried with great solemnity, and abundant prayers for the repose of his soul, at the entrance to the chapter house.

The Foundation.

Helmsley, Elmeslac, or Hamlake, is situated in Ryedale, six miles from Kirbymoorside, twelve from Easingwold, and sixteen from Malton, one of three vales, through each of which meanders a rivulet, the whole being surrounded by steep hills covered with wood and ling, while on the table land above is an expanse of wild moorland called Blakemoor, or Blackmoor, "a vast solitude and horror," as Gulielmus Neubrigensis termed it. In *Domesday Book* it is stated that in the time of Edward the Confessor it had been held by Uctred, and that there was a church and a priest. After the Conquest the manor was given to William, Earl of Mortaigne, who held it as a fief of the crown, but his estates were forfeited, *temp.* Henry I., for espousing the cause of Prince Robert, and granted by that monarch to his favourite, Walter Espec. To the west of Helmsley there was formerly a strong castle, situated on an eminence surrounded by a double moat, the ruins of which may still be seen, consisting of a lofty keep, a gateway on the south, and some other detached fragments. In 1644 it was besieged by Sir Thomas Fairfax, and surrendered on the 21st. of November, after which it was dismantled by order of Parliament. Camden says it was built by Robert de Ros, feudal Lord of Hamlake, the great-grandson of Peter de Ros, who married one of the coheiresses of Sir Walter d'Espec, and who called it Castle Fursam; but there is no reliable foundation for this assertion, and it would seem probable that it was built at an earlier period, and that it was to this castle that Sir Walter retired on giving up his mansion at Kirkham to the Austin canons.

Sir Walter at his death, even after founding and amply endowing three monasteries, had still extensive estates to dispose of by will, which he divided between his three sisters, his coheiresses—Hawise, who married William de Buissi; Albreda, who married Geoffrey de Traili; and Adelina, who married Peter de Ros, to whom was bequeathed the lordship of Hamlake. This Peter de Ros was feudal Lord of Ros, in Holderness, and held five carucates of land in Hamlake, which probably led to his intimacy with the Espec family, and his subsequent marriage. They had a son, Robert, who was a munificent benefactor to the Knights Templars, whose son, Everard, a minor at his father's death, paid the then enormous sum of £526 for the livery of his lands, on coming of age, and afterwards £100 more for the livery of those in the hands of the Earl of Albemarle. His son was Robert, a very famous man, who was one of the twenty-five barons appointed to enforce the observance of Magna Charta. He was the builder of Werke Castle, in Northumberland, and the reputed builder of Hamlake Castle, which it seems more likely he merely repaired, or enlarged, or castellated. He married Isabel, daughter of William the Lion, King of Scotland, from which alliance came William de Ros, their grandson, who was one of the competitors for the Scottish crown on the death of the "Maid of Norway." In after life this Robert became a Knight Templar, and in 1227 was buried in the Temple Church, London. Robert, his grandson, who married the great heiress, Isabel, daughter of William de Albini, through whom he became possessed of Belvoir Castle, was summoned to Parliament as a baron in 1264, whose male line terminated in 1508, on the death of Edmund, eleventh baron, when the barony fell in abeyance between his sisters, and was called out in the person of George, son of Sir Robert Manners, by Eleanor, the eldest of the three sisters, from whom sprung the Earls and Dukes of Rutland. It was to their descendant, Thomas, first Earl of Rutland, that the site of Rievaulx Abbey was granted at the Dissolution. The barony of De Ros being a barony by writ of summons, and

hence almost inextinguishable, is still extant as the premier barony of England, and after passing through several females is now held by the Fitzgerald family, who have adopted the additional surname of De Ros, the present holder being the twenty-first in the barony.

The above-named Robert de Ros, builder of Werke, left that castle and domain to a younger son, from whom was Robert, summoned to Parliament in 1295, as "Roberto de Roos de Werke," but the title was forfeited by attainder for treason shortly after. John, the second son of William, second Baron of Hamlake, was also summoned as baron in 1332, but dying *s.p.* in 1338, the barony became extinct.

At the time when the son of Sir Walter d'Espece met with his death, which would appear to have been in the second decade of the twelfth century, the Cistercian Order was in its infancy, and confined to France. It was established at Cîteaux, near Dijon, by Robert de Moline,



FROM THE NORTH.

a Benedictine monk, in 1098, as a reformed Benedictine order; but its expansion and spread into other countries was due to the energetic zeal of Bernard, who became a monk at Cîteaux in 1113, and founded a new monastery at Clairvaux in 1115, under new rules, from which period until his death in 1153 he spent the whole of his time and talents in developing the growth of the system, so much so that within a century from the foundation of Clairvaux there were eighteen hundred monasteries and nunneries of the order scattered over Europe, and in the reign of Henry VIII. there were one hundred and one in England. Hence in 1121, when Sir Walter founded Kirkham, the Cistercian Order was not known in England, and it was constituted of Canons Regular of the Order of St. Augustine.

In the interval, however, between the foundation of Kirkham and that of Rievaulx, the Cistercian Order had taken root in England, by the establishment of the Abbey of Waverley, in Surrey, in the year 1129, by William Gifford, Bishop of Winchester, which so commended itself to Espece that he determined that his second abbey should be of that order, as also his third in Bedfordshire. In after times a claim was made by Furness to precedence amongst the Cistercians, because it was founded in 1124 at Talket, in Amounderness, and removed

in 1127 to Furness, a very unsubstantial claim, since it was established as a Benedictine Monastery, and did not become Cistercian until 1133, after the establishment of Waverley, Rievaulx, and Fountains. Notwithstanding the priority of Waverley in date, the Abbot of Rievaulx was considered the head of the Cistercians in England, and causes relating to the order were brought before him for judicial decision; and at the great inauguration banquet of Nevil, Archbishop of York, he was placed the fourth in order of precedence. Unlike the Benedictines and other religious houses, which were separate and independent communities, the Cistercians had an organization not unlike that of the English Wesleyans of modern times. Each house owed subjection to that from which it was colonized, and that to its parent house, and so on to Cîteaux, the mother of all. Once a year all the abbots met in a general chapter, to regulate the affairs of the order, which, whilst St. Bernard was at the head, exercised a powerful influence over the religious world of the twelfth century. They were the Puritans of the period—Reformed Benedictines—professing to observe literally the rules of St. Benedict, which in the lapse of time had degenerated into corruption. These rules were,—manual labour, rigid silence, the non-use of animal food, the discarding of superfluities in dress, such as the dalmatic and cope, and wearing chasubles of fustian or linen, without gold or silver adornment, services plainly sung, all pictures or statuary forbidden excepting that of our Lord, and no gold or silver plate excepting the chalice and the reed for the communion. In these chapters also regulations were made as to the form and arrangement of the building, so that there was such a uniformity of style throughout Europe, that a Cistercian can easily be detected from other abbeys, and even when the greater portion has been destroyed it is possible to fix upon the position of the different offices of the establishment. Florid ornamentation was eschewed, but they built in the best and most substantial manner, taking care that their materials were of the best quality, a badly built Cistercian Abbey being an unknown thing. To the Cistercians may be attributed, in a great measure, the marked change in architecture from the round to the pointed arch, and from the solid to the clustered column, known as the Transitional from the Norman to the Early English, which took place in the twelfth century, and reached its fullest and finest development in the thirteenth. The Cistercians may have not been the originators of the style, the idea of the pointed having been brought from the East by the crusaders, who, despite their hatred of the Moslem and his heterodox theology, could not fail being struck by the beauty and grace of the Saracenic arch, and the style would be called, with much more propriety, Saracenic than Gothic, the Goths having little or nothing at all to do with its origin. However this may be, the Cistercians adopted the style, and under their hands it rapidly developed itself in all its more beautiful features. In the general chapters of the order, the architectural style of the new abbeys was a constant subject of discussion: plans were drawn out, elevations of the exteriors, and arrangements of the interiors of the churches, were all laid down after due consideration, always keeping in view substantiality in building, simplicity in place of florid ornamentation, and symmetry of form with grandeur of outline, in place of statuary and minute details of chisel work. As a multitude of abbeys was at this time springing up all over Europe, all in this general style, with slight variations, it is no wonder that it spread so rapidly, and so soon displaced the Romanesque arch and the stunted pillar, for even the untutored eye of that comparatively dark age could not but recognize and appreciate the beauty and infinitely superior dignity of the new over the old style.

Bernard, of Clairvaux, at an early period commenced the system of colonization, by sending out detachments of monks to establish new abbeys, and filling up their ranks by novices or monks, who, finding the discipline of the Benedictines too lax, crowded the portals of Clairvaux to enter into community with the brethren of the new and more austere Cistercian Order. In 1128 he sent a colony into England, who, in the following year, under the auspices of the Bishop of Winchester, established the abbey of Waverley in the south of England. As

it is stated in the old chronicles that the monks of Rievaulx came over the same year (1128), it is most likely that they formed part of the same detachment, and may have lingered for a time at Waverley. It may have occurred to Bernard that as the south of England was supplied with an abbey, it would be desirable to plant another in the north, or it may be that the Waverley brethren, having heard of the vow of Walter d'Espece, thought it a favourable opportunity for the foundation of a second abbey, and obtained permission from the head of the order to go northward with that object in view. However that may be, a body of Bernardine monks, with one William at their head, made their appearance in Yorkshire in the year 1129, and obtained an interview with Sir Walter, to whom they doubtless explained the principles of the order, expatiated on the religious fervour of their head, and the piety of the brethren of Clairvaux, and stated their wish to establish a house of their order in the north



WEST SIDE OF CHOIR.

of England. To these representations he seems to have lent a willing ear, and to have been impressed with the wholesome rules of the order as compared with the relaxed regulations of the Benedictines, and with the spirit of devout piety which pervaded the cloisters of Clairvaux. So much so that in 1131 he made the brethren a grant of land in the valley of the Rie, then a solitary place near his town of Hamlake, surrounded by hills, exceedingly well adapted by its seclusion to secure the quiet and repose which the Cistercians always sought for.

The site selected for the abbey was on the sloping bank of the Rie, in a deep narrow valley, near the angles of three valleys, each with a rivulet following their windings. There are half a dozen lateral valleys, each with its streamlet forming tributaries to the Rie, a rapid mountain stream flowing from Bilsdale and the bleak moor of Snilesworth, and falling into the Derwent not far from Malton. The valley of the Rie is so tortuous that, looking from the abbey, it seems to stand in a magnificent amphitheatre, surrounded on all sides by hills, clothed with foliaged trees, rising to the level of the moors above. From its situation the abbey obtained the name of Rievale, or Rivaulx, and is now popularly called in the neighbourhood Rieval and Rivers.

The first buildings of the Cistercians were commonly of wood; Citeaux being termed in its early days "Monasterium ligneum;" but this would occur chiefly in localities where stone was not at hand, and too costly to purchase from a distance; and they were replaced by buildings of stone, as the monks were enabled by benefactions to do so. In Riedale stone was more easily procured, and we may presume that that material was used from the first, as the original church, which was utilized at the rebuilding by making it the transept of the new edifice, is of stone.

The monks having obtained possession of the land, were not long before they commenced building operations; but these would be of a temporary character, in anticipation of being enabled to erect buildings of a better and more substantial kind afterwards. According to the usual Cistercian mode they would first build the church, then the buildings eastward of the cloister quadrangle, comprising the chapter house and other essentially necessary buildings, including the dormitory; after that the cellarium to the west of the quadrangle, then the refectory on the south, and finally the infirmary, the guest house, the almshouse, etc. We have no record of the source whence the funds proceeded to execute these buildings, whether from Clairvaux or whether they were supplied by D'Espece, but no great amount of money would be required, as William, the leader of the monks and the first abbot, was the architect, the monks would work with the chisel and the trowel, and the materials would, presumably, be supplied by Sir Walter from his quarries.

Sir Walter d'Espece endowed his foundation with the manor of Hamelac, with wood and pannages for their hogs in his forest of Hamelac, and four carucates of land (a carucate being as much as one team could plough in a year). Everard, son of Robert de Ros, also gave an essart here, with his woods on the west side of the town. Altogether they soon found themselves in possession of fifty carucates of land, nine given by the founder, twelve by the crown, twelve by Roger de Mowbray, and six by the Bishop of Durham, also of pasturage for four thousand cattle and sheep. King Henry II., in 1158, gave two carucates, called Kilverd-Marsch, with the fisheries, and all the pasture in the waste of Pickering in exchange for Steinton, which had been granted to the monks, whereon to build a monastery, by Gilbert de Gant. King Henry III. granted to the monks a charter of free-warren in Rachedale and in Scipum. King Stephen confirmed the abbot and monks in the grange of Sandburn, which they held of the canons of St. Peter's, York, with common pasture from Sandburn to the woods; and Roger de Mowbray gave them "Midel-hovet and Salton in Farndale, where Edmund the hermit lived, with the other Salton called Du Vanthave." It is a singular fact that whilst Sir Walter endowed Kirkham with not less than seven churches, Rievaulx never possessed one, not even a chapel of any kind. In 1160, Pope Alexander III. took the abbey under his especial and immediate protection, and granting to the abbot and monks a bull, in which he enjoined that Rievaulx should remain a Cistercian abbey for ever, he confirmed them in all their possessions; exempted them from the payment of tithes; forbade their detention by any one; charged bishops not to interdict them, excepting for some notorious offence; gave them permission to continue their religious services, only with closed doors, during national interdicts; confirmed all the rights and immunities granted to them by Kings Henry I. and II.; and declared all persons excommunicate who should steal anything from them, or otherwise damage or annoy them. In 1261, Pope Alexander IV., by bull, confirmed them in all their possessions and rights, and extended the exemption from tithe to all new land that they might bring into cultivation.

The monks were also possessors of some mines of iron ore, and had furnaces and foundries for extracting and working the iron. The Benedictines were addicted to literature, and produced a multitude of learned men, who spent their leisure in their libraries and scriptoriums in the production of works, many of them of great literary value. The Cistercians, on the contrary, were not given to such pursuits; they considered that *laborare est orare*, and divided

their time between their devotional exercises and manual labours; hence the paucity of writers in their order. They were the best agriculturists of the time, and were the greatest breeders of sheep and exporters of wool in the kingdom. As Howitt observes, "they were the leaders and stimulators of agriculture, as they were the almost inspired architects, and the most exquisite sculptors and carvers of their time. It was not alone in their scriptorium that they copied missals and breviaries in the most exquisite caligraphy, and embellished them with equally exquisite paintings; it was not alone in writing histories of saints and kings that they employed their time; nor in carving beautiful cups and crucifixes for their altars; nor in working gorgeous copes and chasubles; but they extended their attention to all the more rude and matter-of-fact arts and pursuits of ordinary life. They had farms, and mills, and cider-presses, and fisheries, with weirs and traps." This description, however, is not strictly applicable to the Cistercians, for although it is true that they were "almost inspired architects," they eschewed to a great extent sculpture and carving, and were not particularly expert with the pen, or in the illumination of missals, or in embroidering copes and chasubles; they devoted themselves more especially to the labours of husbandry and various handicrafts, and the monks of Rievaulx especially, to the working of their mines and smelting furnaces.

On the west side of the refectory at Rievaulx there is a huge heap of slag and cinders, the outcasting of an iron-foundry, which shews what diligent workers the monks were in this branch of manufacture, and that on or near this spot a workshop of considerable size must have been in operation, and near Scarborough there are excavations of great magnitude where they extracted the ore from the earth. The monks of Rievaulx were in fact the pioneers of that enormous industry of modern times, which, by the enterprise of Bolckow and other capitalists, has rendered Cleveland the greatest iron-producing district of England, and has raised Middlesbrough, within a very few years, from a mere hamlet into a populous city, with churches, schools, literary and scientific associations, municipal buildings, theatres, parks, and all other appliances of a large and prosperous community.

Abbots of Rievaulx.

1. WILLIAM, a monk of Clairvaux, 1131—1146, "a man of great virtue and excellent memory."
2. MAURICE, 1146, resigned *circa* 1160. During his abbacy Sir Walter d'Espece became a monk of the house, and died within its walls.
3. AELREDUS, or ÆTHELREDUS, 1160—1166. He had previously been Abbot of Revesby, an offshoot of Rievaulx. He was buried in the Abbey Church, where his tomb, resplendent with gold and silver, might be seen at the Dissolution. For further particulars of his life, *vide infra*.
4. ROGER, occurs 1175.
5. BERNHARD, occurs 1180.
6. SYLVAN, previously prior, 1180—1189, *per mort.*
7. GODFREY.
8. ERNALDUS, occurs 1199; resigned 12—.
9. WILLIAM PUNCHARD, 1203—1203, *per mort.*
10. GUARINUS, or WARIN, died 1211.
11. HELYAS, resigned 1215.
12. HENRY, previously Abbot of Warden, Bedfordshire; died 1216, at Rochford, and there buried.
13. WILLIAM, previously Abbot of Melrose, an offshoot of Rievaulx, died 1223.
14. ROGER, previously Abbot of Warden, 1224, resigned 12—.
15. LEONIAS DE DUNDRAYNON, a monk of Melrose, occurs 1238, died 1240.
16. ADAM DE TILLETAI, 1240—12—.
17. WILLIAM, professed obedience as abbot 12 kal. August, 1275.
18. THOMAS, professed obedience 4th. nones February, 1286.
19. ROBERT, professed obedience, 4th. nones February, 1301.
20. PETER, professed obedience on the Sunday after the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, 1307.
21. JOHN, died 1312.
22. THOMAS GRYSTHWAYT received the benediction at Cawood, 12th. kal. of February, 1312.
23. WILLIAM, succeeded 1318.
24. WILLIAM DE LANGETON received the archiepiscopal benediction, 1334.
25. RICHARD, professed obedience 1st. November, 1349.

26. WILLIAM, elected 1311.
27. WILLIAM, occurs 1409, when he resigned.
28. WILLIAM BRYMLEY, or BROMLEY, elected 1409, resigned 1421.
29. JOHN, elected 1421.
30. HENRY BURTON, a monk of Salley, elected 10th. November, 1423.
31. WILLIAM SPENSER, occurs, according to Burton, in 1443, from the Register of Archbishop Kempe, and resigned 1449, but in the Patent Rolls is stated to have been elected 28 Henry VI. (1449).
32. JOHN INKELEY, or INGELAY, elected 5th. April, 1449. Buried in Everingham Church, under a blue marble slab on the south side of the chancel.
33. JOHN BURTON received the archbishop's benediction 29th. January, 1489.
34. WILLIAM HELMESLEY, professed obedience 18th. November, 1513.
35. RICHARD, or ROWLAND BLYTON, the last abbot, who, with twenty-three monks, signed the surrender.



FROM SOUTH-EAST

Willis, in his *History of Abbeys*, observes, "The Pension Book says that William Kyrkeby, *alias* Cowper, Abbat of this convent, had an annuity of £44 per annum assigned to him during life, who, I presume was predecessor to Roland Blyton above mentioned." Stevens (*Monast. Ang.*) remarks, "With submission to Mr. Willis's better judgment, I am rather of opinion that the variety of names was a fraud of the commissioners and their creatures, to procure pensions and continue them to themselves and hangers on, under the names of abbots and monks, though they had never been such; for it is plain that the said commissioners, and others employed with them in that sacrilegious service, were such vile wretches that they would not stick at any villainy which might turn to their advantage." Between 1513, when William Helmesley succeeded, and the surrender by Blyton in 1538, there would undoubtedly be two or three (if not more) abbots, whose names are lost, unless the above William de Kyrkeby be one. It is stated by Fuller, in his *Church History*, and by others, that an Abbot of Rievaulx, the Abbot of Fountains, and the Prior of Bridlington, were hanged for treason in connection with the insurrection of the Pilgrimage of Grace.

Not far distant from Rievaulx was "Mogreve (Mulgrave) Castle on Blakemore," which Sir Francis Bigod, of Settrington, had inherited from his mother, Constance, daughter and

heiress of Peter de Mauley. He was devotedly attached to the old faith, and on intimate terms with his neighbour, the Father Abbot of Rievaulx. He witnessed, with indignation, the perfidy of the king in respect to his promises of redress, and called together his friends at his house at Settrington to discuss the question. Although he had stood aloof from the outbreak of 1536, he approved of their motives and actions, and wished the pilgrims God speed. But now he felt himself impelled to do something more, which led to the assembly at Settrington in 1537. There were gathered together a considerable number of nobles and squires, priests and monks, and amongst them the Abbots of Rievaulx and Jervaulx and the Prior of Bridlington. After some discussion they resolved to unfurl afresh the banner of the Five Wounds, and reorganize the Pilgrimage. It was a mad scheme, and much less likely to succeed than that of the previous year, especially as Aske, the able leader of the former



CHOIR, ETC., FROM NORTH.

outbreak, and other influential nobles and gentry, glad as they would have been to render aid to any practicable scheme for compelling the king to disgorge the plunder he had reft from the church, stood significantly aside. However, a rude undisciplined mob of Woldsmen were collected together, who with loud acclamations proclaimed Bigod, and Hallam, of Cawkhill, near Driffeld, their captains, who took Beverley, and attempted the capture of Hull and Scarborough, but were soon defeated, and the leaders taken prisoners and executed, including the two abbots and the prior.

This Abbot of Rievaulx was he who, "when the commissioners of King Henry knocked at his gate and showed their letters, said they were forged, and turned his back to them, leaving them to concoct their tale of the 'abhominable lyving and extorcions commytted by the Abbot of Riwx' as best they could, and who obstructed them in every possible way." It is thus that Legh, the visitor, describes his inquisition to Cromwell:—

"Pleesithe it your mastership to be advartesyed that according to youre commandement, with most diligence, I hawe delivered your letter, also att tymes most convenient referryd unto the kynge's commysioners at Rievax sich credence as yowar pleisar and equitie wolde, whyche uppon the Abbott of Fontans' parti

was butt lyghtly regardyd and playnly expressyd of the same, that suche letter as I deliveryd and credance relatyde was ffrom M. Crumwell onley, and not from the kynge's hyghnesse, wherupon, by the councelles of docter Spensar, and Boycar, a proctor, after evidence, prove be wytnessys and the Abbot of Rywax confession publishyde, the said Abbot amonge other exceptions dyd laye thys excepcion—*Quod rigore literarum nulla commissionariis nec illorum alicui competit aut competere potest jurisdictio contra prefatum Abbatem de Rievall pro eo, videlect et ex quo dicta littere regie fuerunt et sunt dolose surreptitie, quod sunt facila veritate et expressa falsitate per dolum et fraudem ac hujus modi serenissimi principis nostri circumventionem impetrate*, who in hys obstinacie and parvarse mynde adhering to the rulles of hys religion, as he sayd, departyd from Riwax, and wolde nott, accordngli unto your letters, thare remayne for the accomplishment of the kynge's commandemente, notwithstanding that I oftentimes desiryd hym and commaunded hym, in the kynge's name to tarry and make prosses, accordng to justice, without forder delay; whyce rebellious mynde at this tyme is soo radicate, not onely in hym, but also in money of that relygion as in the Abbott of Rywax, wryting this letter here inclosyde to the slaundare of the kynge's heygness, and after the kynge's lettars receyvdyd did impryson and otherways punyche divers of hys brethern which were ayents hym and hys dissolute lyving; also dyd take ffrom one of the same, a wery agyd man, al hys money whyche he shulde have made hys jubili withalle, that as persons almost nothing regarding God and veri lytyll owr grett maister the kynge, under the pretence of the rwills of there religion, lyvyth as persones *solute ab omni lege seu obedientia et Deo et Regni debila*, being aboutwardes, as it seemeth to me, to rwle the kyng by ther rwilles, which is a perverse ordre that so noble a hedde shuld be rullyd by so putride and most corrupte membres. *Sed Calo iniqui, obsta principis*. All the cuntre maykythe exclamacions of this Abbot of Riwax uppon hys abhomynable lywing and extorcons by hym commytted, also many wronges to divers miserable persones and on whyche evidently duth apere, by bylles corroborat, to be trwe, wythe ther othere corporate in the presens of the commissionars and the said abbot takyn, and upon the sam xvi witnees examynd afferming the exclamacions to be trwe. Therefore *tempore jam instante*, the kinge's majeste consideryd, whome they have knowlygd to be *supremum caput totius ecclesie Anglicane*, the honor of my Lorde of Rutland in thys besynes remembryd, your worshyp, and also my pore honeste not forgotten, they wold ether quykli be lokyd upon and shortly, or elles ther dessolute lyving, with rebelliose demeanour, shal every day increase more and more to the dyspleasour of God, disquietnes of the kynge's prerogative, and reproche slanderouse unto ther religion, with troble of such cuntres as they ar inhabited in. The Abbot of Funtance hath knowlege at hys being at Riwax, the erle of Cumberlonde to have a commission for to inqwyer upon his demeanours whyche causyde hym ther businesses to playe two partes, *nam tunc sua res agitur partes cum proximus ardet*. Thes premysses consideryd, I trust ye wyllynke hym not worthe to be visitour of his religion any longer by the kynge's auctorite. And in thys cause of the Abbott of Riwaxe, the other commyssioners hathe precedide according to the lawe and your credence by me to theyme relatyde, and cordynlie hathe remowyd hym from the rewle of his abbacie and admystracion of the same. With my slowe wryting I besiche yow to tak no dyspleasur, and of the cause ther of I shal at my cumming to London make trwe relacion to yow. Written in hast, the first day of September, ffrom Belver, by yowr servand,

THOMAS I. LEGH.

I pray yow noote there presumptuous myndes most alienat ffrom religion, hawing nothing of ther own, ne may have ther accomptes made, whyche onely to be calyd an abbote will contend contrare to ther obedience with kynge's hyghnes, the fownders and all other, to the great slandar of religion, disquietnes, and extreme costes and charges of ther howse.

To the ryght worshipful master Thomas Crumwell, oon of the Kynge's most honorable Councell, thys be deliured wythe spede."

This abbot it was who so bravely defied the agents of the king in defence of what he considered the rights of the church, which he recognized as superior to any pertaining to the king's prerogative, and who for so doing was summarily ejected from his abbacy. It was he who, with his brother abbots of Fountains and Jervaulx, lent all their power and influence to the promoters of the second Pilgrimage of Grace, for which they were hanged with all the barbarous accompaniments of the time, and may be looked upon as martyrs, in the strictest sense of the word, for the faith they held. It is curious, however, that in almost all histories of the abbey he is altogether ignored; nor does his name appear to be known, as where he is incidentally mentioned in other narratives, it is merely as "the Abbot of Rievaulx."

Annals.

The history of Rievaulx is meagre and uneventful. Sheltered in the seclusion of their valley, which was a highway to or from nowhere, the turmoils and wars of the outer world passed by on either side whilst the brethren remained, scatheless and in complete repose, to till their lands, tend their sheep, and perform, without let or hindrance, the rites of Divine worship. Nor do they appear to have indulged in litigation with others, or to have had any internal squabbles of moment, at least we have no records of anything of the kind having

taken place, although the abbot was frequently called upon, as the head of the Yorkshire and northern Cistercians, to act in a judicial capacity in settling the quarrels of others.

The first historical notice we have of Rievaulx is in the *Annales de Waverleia*, where, under the date MCXXIX, is recorded, "Fundata est Rievallis ii. non. Martii." The second of the nones of March, 1129, would thus appear to have been the precise time when the monkish colony, passing thither from Waverley (no doubt) into the north to establish a monastery, obtained the patronage of Walter d'Espeç.

The brethren appear to have commenced building immediately after their settlement in Rievale; but that on a very humble scale, sufficient however to meet their then requirements. Had they foreseen the extent and splendour to which their abbey was destined to rise, they would probably have chosen some more open space in preference to the narrow and contracted valley given them by Sir Walter for its site. They built a stone church of small dimensions, in the then prevalent Norman style, which was correctly (or nearly so) oriented, and around it the usual appendant buildings. By the time, however, of Aelred, the third abbot, who succeeded about thirty years afterwards, they found that the church and buildings were not sufficient to meet their necessities, and having now more ample funds they resolved upon a re-edification of the abbey. The style of church building had in the meanwhile undergone a change, and had passed into what is called the Transitional Anglo-Norman, which combined features of the Norman and of the coming Early English, or Lancet-style, a change in fact from the cylindrical and stunted pillar and round-headed arch to the graceful clustered column, towering aloft to a much higher altitude, and the beautiful pointed arch. As it has been observed before, the architectural style of the Cistercian abbeys was a frequent subject of discussion at the sittings of the general chapter, and the new pointed style adopted, which gave rise to the simultaneous uprising of abbeys, with the same characteristic features all over Europe. Aelred, a man of great talent in various ways, laid down the plan, and superintended the erection of the new building, living, it is believed, to see their practical completion. It was arranged to build the church on a much grander scale than the original edifice; but unfortunately it was discovered that from lack of space, and the peculiarities of the ground, it could not be built with proper orientation, so, as they were unwilling to abandon the spot on which they had first planted their monastery, they were obliged to build it nearly due north and south, with the altar at the south end. In order to utilize the old church, as far as they could, they retained the nave and chancel to constitute the transept of the new edifice. Some of the windows of the new church were ornamented with stained glass, and was the first instance of its use in northern England. It was placed in them in 1140, and, was most probably brought from France, at which time the narrow lancet-windows began to expand in breadth, to give more space for the pictorial display.

It was not long before the abbey began to throw off colonies for the establishment of other Cistercian houses. The most famous of these was the Abbey of Melrose, founded by King David I. in 1136, and was doubtless due in degree to the influence of Aelred, then a monk in Rievaulx, afterwards abbot, who had spent his youth at the court of David and his Queen, Margaret, daughter of Waltheof, Earl of Northumbria, whose lives he afterwards wrote, and who treated him rather as a friend than as a dependent. However that may be, Melrose was supplied with a fraternity of monks from Rievaulx, flourished with great splendour under the patronage of the royal race of Scotland, suffered great vicissitudes from the Border wars, and became dissolved under the rays of the Knoxian reformation, after existing a little over four hundred years. In 1143, William, Earl of Lincoln, having heard of the piety and austerity of the Rievaulx Cistercians, paid the abbot a visit, and asked him to send a colony of monks for an abbey he proposed building on one of his estates at Revesby, in Lincolnshire. The abbot assented, and sent Aelred with twelve monks thither, who established the first abbey of that order in Lincolnshire, and elected Aelred as their abbot. At the Dissolution its annual

revenue was estimated at £349 4s. 10d. Rufford Abbey, Nottinghamshire, founded by Gilbert de Gant in 1148, was also peopled by a colony from Rievaulx.

But prior to these events the fame of the new order, which had rooted itself in Riedale, had spread abroad and reached the walls of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary, York. The discipline there had become very relaxed, and the abbey was a nest of corruption. There were, however, in the fraternity a few holy men, who vainly strove to reform the evils, but the abbot only reprimanded them for their protests against them, and at length they resolved to leave the house and adopt the Cistercian rule in some other spot, but the abbot refused



CHOIR. LOOKING NORTH

them permission to leave. They appealed to Archbishop Thurstan, who visited the house, and found the malcontent monks under penance and confined to their cells; but being unable to adjudicate the case, it was referred to the king. In the meanwhile, however, Richard, the sub-prior, Robert, afterwards the Hermit of Knaresborough, and the ten other of the refractory monks escaped, and Archbishop Thurstan made them a grant of land in Skelldale, a wild spot, infested by wild and savage animals. Here they passed two winters of great suffering from the inclemency of the weather, and there gradually built up the great and magnificent Abbey of Fountains, under the Cistercian rule, as observed at Rievaulx. It was founded in 1132, fell with the greater abbeys at the Dissolution, and now its ruins form one of the great architectural glories of Yorkshire, and scarcely second to any other in the kingdom.

In 1153, the founder, Walter d'Espeç, was buried in the abbey, and two years afterwards

his son-in-law, Peter de Ros, also about the same time Henry le Scrope, who left instructions in his will that his body should be buried before the altar of Our Lady of Pity in the church. We find two entries in the *Annales de Waverleia*, relative to the deaths of two of the abbots, which are slightly discrepant with the ordinarily received list.—“MCCIII. Obiit Wilhelminus Abbas Reivallensis, et successit Gaufridus monachus ejusdem loci.” “MCCXXIV. Obiit Wilhelmus, Abbas Reivallis, et successit ei Abbas” (Roger) “de Wardune.” Other burials which we find mentioned are:—“2 Edward III., Sir William Malbys, Knight, had licence to translate the remains of Sir John Malbys and Agnes, his parents, from the church of Acaster-Malbys to the church of Rievaulx.” “7 Richard II., Thomas de Ros buried in the choir.” “17 Richard II., Sir John de Ros, Knight, buried in the choir, near the altar.” “1394, Lady Mary de Ros, by will ordered her corpse to be laid by that of her husband, Sir John, and left £100 for a marble tomb, like that of Dame Margaret Oryby, her mother, in Boston church.”



J. L. E. TOY.

King Edward II. was entertained with his nobles at Rievaulx, on his return from his unsuccessful expedition into Scotland. Lambard gives the following narrative of the event:—“Kyng Edward II. gathered together a great armye and passed a little way into Scotland, but for the want of good foresight he was constrayned by famine to retyre before he had done any notable exploit. Now while he and his nobilitie in their retorne refreshed themselves at the abbay, newes was brought that the Scottes came after in great power and no less hast. The kyng and his nobles myndinge more thare meate than either the surety of their subjectes or their owne honour, neglected the messuage; but the Scottes pursuing eagerly their attempte, came sodaynly within sight, and compelled to shameful flight the kyng and his men, which never ceased till they had recovered Yorke for their succour.” This occurred in 1321, when John de Dreux, Earl of Richmond, was taken prisoner by the Scots.

In 1333, (7 Edward III.), we find a record that the abbey was taxed at six marks towards an aid for the marriage of the king's sister, Alionore.

The abbey rose rapidly in opulence and importance, attaining a very high position among the abbeys of Christendom. This is sufficiently evidenced by the fact that the abbot sent procurators to the Council of Pisa in 1409, which assembled for the purpose of extinguishing the schism in the church, which existed in consequence of the claims of the rival Popes, Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII.

Amongst the papers of the Record Office there is a letter from Dr. Magnus and Radcliffe to Wolsey, dated Edinburgh, 22nd. Nov., 1524, in which they state that they have received great help in all the causes they were sent to settle from the Bishop of St. Andrews, who told them that his brother, the Abbot of Murehouse (Melrose) was dead, and that the monks meant to send two of their number to Rievall, in Yorkshire, relative thereto, and the election of his successor. From which it appears that even to the last the abbey exercised a spiritual influence and authority over the younger abbeys of the order. Another letter in the same collection, dated Pontefract Priory, 9th. April, 1529, refers to an election, probably of an Abbot of Rievaulx, which is not otherwise recorded. Thomas Donyngton writes to Wolsey that the Dean of York and the Abbots of Fountains and Byland celebrated the election at Ryvalls, on Tuesday, 6th. April, and submits to him that if he please to prefer Marmaduke Bradley, his prebend at Ripon, "one of the best and necessary for my master" and himself, and that "my master will have £100 for delapidations of the same." His master was Thomas Winter, Wolsey's illegitimate son, a great pluralist, at that time Provost of Beverley, and holding besides the Wardenship of St. Leonard's Hospital, York, the Archdeaconries of York and Richmond, a deanery, a chancellorship, half a dozen prebends, and sundry rectories. Marmaduke Bradley was afterwards (1537) elected Abbot of Fountains, and surrendered it in 1540.

Eminent Men.

The great luminary of Rievaulx, and indeed one of the foremost men of the age in respect to learning, was AELRED, the third abbot. He was born of noble stock, in the year 1109, died 1166, and was canonized 1191. His father was Eilau, Deputy Provost of Hexham, who assisted Archbishop Thomas in reforming the abuses which had crept into the church of Hexham, and ended his life as a Benedictine monk. "From his tender years Aelred was educated in the fear of God and in good studies, and from his youth learned to bear the yoke of our Lord, always leading an innocent life, and void of guilt. His piety and learning increasing with his years, he became a Cistercian monk, in which solitary course of life he so much addicted himself to divine contemplation, that he shined among his companions like the moon among stars." He was of Saxon descent, and was allied to many noble families of Northumbria, and had thus, in a worldly point of view, splendid prospects opening out before him, but all these he relinquished for the pious seclusion of the cloister and the pursuits of literature. When a boy he was introduced to the court of David I. of Scotland by Queen Margaret, daughter of Waltheof, Earl of Northumbria, Huntingdon, and Northampton, and relict of Simon St. Liz, to be the playmate and youthful instructor of Prince Henry and the queen's two sons, by her former husband, Simon and Waltheof St. Liz. The four boys were educated together, but Waltheof was Aelred's favourite, with whom he read chivalric romances, the works of Cicero, monkish chronicles, and the lives of the saints, Simon despising all such pursuits, and loving only athletic sports, hunting, and war exercises. Prince Henry, Earl of Huntingdon *jure matris*, died *v.p.* 1149, his father recognizing his death as a judgment upon himself for his cruel ravages on the English Borders. Simon became Earl of Northampton, and in after life a church builder, dying in 1154; and Waltheof was for some time Abbot of Melrose, dying in 1159, seven years before his friend Aelred. King David made Aelred Steward of his Household, and would have advanced him to higher preferment; but, despising earthly splendour, and experiencing no satisfaction in secular pursuits and the company of courtiers, he yearned to retreat from the world, and devote himself in some monastic cell to the offices of religion and intellectual study. Resigning his office, therefore, and bidding farewell to his patron and patroness and his youthful companions, he wandered forth in search of a fitting spot. He crossed the Borders, and came into his native Northumbria, then passed over the Tees, and explored, on foot, the hills and dales of Cleveland, until he came to the newly-founded Cistercian Abbey in Rievale, which struck him as being precisely the spot he was in search of. He gained admission as a novice under William, the first abbot, and in the year 1138 assumed the cowl. He practised the most severe austerities, mortified the flesh, spent days and nights in prayer and studying devotional books, which recommended him to the notice of his superiors as a promising young man. The Cistercian rule, then in its infancy, was very severe. The brethren drank water only, eat little food, and that of the coarsest kind, laboured hard during the day, and at night slept for a few hours on hard boards; gave implicit obedience to the commands of their superiors, and never spoke to each other excepting in cases of absolute necessity; all which agreed with Aelred's ideas of the routine of a holy life. His pious life and submission to rule soon led to his appointment as Master of the Novices, and in 1143 he was sent at the head

of twelve monks to colonise Revesby, in the county of Lincoln, and was elected abbot; but three years afterwards, Maurice, second Abbot of Rievaulx, died, and Aelred was recalled to succeed him. In that capacity he governed the abbey so well, spiritually, as to win universal esteem, whilst he managed the temporalities so judiciously as to leave, at his death, a very large surplus in the treasury. He was also the architect of the new abbey, made all the plans, and superintended the erection. Soon after the death of Prince Henry of Scotland he had occasion to visit Dunfermline on business of the order, when he called upon his old friend and patron, King David. He found him weeping over the "judgment" that had befallen him, and desirous of retiring into the cloister to end his days in prayer and penance; but Aelred pointed out to him how disastrous such a course would be to the country, and persuaded him to relinquish the idea until his youthful grandson should be of age sufficient to take charge of the government. On the death of David the northern Picts rose in insurrection, under Fergus their leader, against the young king, Malcolm, who sent in hot haste to Aelred to come to his help. Aelred hastened into Scotland, and in an interview with Fergus, negotiated a peace satisfactory to both parties. Such was his humility and disregard for distinction, that he is said to have refused a bishopric, preferring his quiet cell in Rievale to any honour the world could bestow. After a life of great usefulness, and a prolonged illness, he died in his abbey, and was buried there. It is said of him that he took St. Bernard as his pattern of life, and resembled him in being "humble, mild, modest, pious, chaste, temperate, and wonderfully for peace;" and in another work, published by Benedict XIV., he is highly eulogised for his "learning, innocence of life, wonderful humility, patience, heavenly conversation, gift of prophecy, and miracles." His writings, several of which have been printed in Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*, in vol. v. of the *Bibliotheca Cisterciensis*, and in vol. xxv. of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, are voluminous, but not of a very high order, nor do they display a great depth of learning, but exhibit a great amount of credulity, any saintly legend, however improbable, being accepted by him implicitly, and duly recorded. His life appears in Capgrave's *Novae Legenda Angliae*, 1516; *Annals of the Cistercian Order*; Butler's *Lives of the Saints*; and, in a more or less abridged form, in many other collections of Lives. Works:—

"Historia de Vita et Miraculis S. Edwardii, Regis et Confessoris." In *Leonine Latin Elegiacs*. MS. in Caius College, Cambridge. Published in 1572, with the title "Edwardi Regis Vita, Authore Alredo Rhievallo, Anglo-Monacho et Abbo." Also by Twysden, 1652.

"De Generositate, et moribus, et morte Regis David." Printed by Twysden, who entitles it "Genealogia Regum Anglorum." It commences with the life of King David, after which follows a brief history of the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman kings, and is dedicated to King Henry II.

"Vita S. Margarete, Regine Scotie, quam quidem S. Alredus, Abbas, primo conscripsit." 1617.

"Vita Sancti Niniani, Episcopi." Cotton MSS.

"Vita Haroldii," (King Harold II).

"Historia de Sanctimoniali de Watthun," (Watton Abbey, near Beverley). Published by Twysden, 1652. It contains an account of a nun who was seduced and afterwards repented.

"De Bello Standardii, tempore Stephani Regis, anno 1138." Edited by Canon Raine, and published by the Surtees Society.

"Of the Foundation of the Monastery of St. Mary at York."

"History of the Abbey of Fountains."

"De Naturæ Animæ."

"De Miraculis Hagustaldensis Ecclesiæ." MS. in the Bodleian Library.

"Liber Institutiones Inclusarum; or the Rule of Nuns." Edited by the Rev. C. W. Kett for the Early English Text Society, 1870. Formerly erroneously ascribed to St. Augustine. This was written at the request of his sister, who was a nun.

"Chronicles from Adam."

"Fasciculus Frondium." Mentioned in the Rievaulx Catalogue.

"Sermones de Tempore et de Sanctis."

"In Isaias Prophetam. Sermones XXXI."

"Speculum Charitatis, lib. iii., cum compendio ejusdem."

"Tractatus de puero Jesu duodecenni in illud Luc. ii., cum factus esset Jesus, etc." Sometimes entitled "De duodecimo anno Christi."

"De Spirituali Amicitia, lib. iii." A dialogue after the manner of Cicero's *De Amicitia*.

"Tractatus de Dominica, infra Octavus Epipheniæ, et Sermones XI. de oneribus Isaiæ." Published along with the works of St. Bernard.

"Opera Divi Aelredi Rhievalensis, quondam in Anglia ex ordine Cisterciensi Abbatis, etc." Douai, 1631. Edited by the Jesuit Gibbons, consisting of "Sermones de Tempore," "In Isaiam," "Speculum Charitatis," "Tractatus de puero Jesu," and "De Spirituali Amicitia."

Other works in MS. are mentioned by Leland, Bale, and Pits, but there are doubts as to their authenticity.

"Of his theological writings their character is so like the productions of his eloquent and impassioned teacher, (St. Bernard), that critics have not always been able to distinguish between them. As an historian he is entitled to respect from every faithful enquirer into the antiquities of the North of England."

WILLIAM OF RIEVAULX, says Stevens, "is highly commended by our historians for his great knowledge in history and other sciences, but he either writ little, or else what he did write is lost; and yet he is, by Richard and John of Hexham, Randal Higden, William Herman, and others, mentioned among our principal writers. We have no other title of any of his works but one, which is 'The History of the English.' He is said to have lived till the year 1160." He was a monk of the Cistercian Abbey of Rufford, Nottinghamshire, but evidently, from his name,

served his noviciate and took the monastic vows at Rievaulx, but how long he remained there, and when he migrated to Rufford is not known. Rufford Abbey was founded in 1148 by Gilbert de Gant, *j.m.* Earl of Lincoln, son of Walter de Gant, founder of the Priory of Bridlington, and he took thither a colony of monks from Rievaulx, of whom no doubt William of Rievaulx was one.

WALTER DANIEL was a monk of Rievaulx, and one of the disciples of Aelred, "always endeavouring to imitate his master in the practice of virtue, and advancing in literature, so that he at least equalled him in both respects; and in his writings treated of the same subjects as he had done, seeming, therein, rather to exceed than fall short of him." He died and was buried in his abbey in 1170. His writings were sacredly preserved in the library of Rievaulx, and were seen there by Leland, but at the Dissolution they were dispersed and lost. The list of his known writings consisted of the following:—

- "Of the Conception of the Blessed Mary."
- "Of the Virginity of the Blessed Mary."
- "Of True Friendship."
- "Of the Burden of the Beast of the South."
- "Of the Decent Form of a Virgin."
- "One Hundred Homilies."
- "One Hundred Sentences."
- "One Hundred Homilies on the Words 'He was sent.'"
- "Homilies on other Passages of Scripture."
- "On some Places in Holy Writ."
- "Epistles."

THORALD is mentioned by Leland, who styles him Abbot of Rievaulx, and says that he flourished in 1216, and was a writer of several works; but, adds Leland, "I found not any title of his writings, tho' they were many." His name does not occur in any list of the abbots, but if he were such, and the above date indicates the period, he would have come between Henry, the twelfth abbot, who died in 1216, and William, who died in 1223, who is reckoned as the thirteenth.

Willis, in his *Abbeys*, speaks of ALFREDUS, or ÆTHELREDUS, as "a famous writer and author of many works;" but it is evident that he is identical with Aelred.

The Dissolution.

The estimated annual revenue of the house in 1291, for Pope Nicholas's taxation, was £241 10s. 0d. The commissioners of Henry VIII., in the 26th. of the reign, found the gross income to be £351 14s. 6d. per annum; or net, £278 10s. 2d. Of plate there was 516 oz., lead 100 foddors, and 5 bells; and that they had estates in ninety-five towns, villages, and townships, chiefly in Yorkshire. We have seen that when the commissioners visited the abbey, 26 Henry VIII., the abbot proved very refractory, and was ejected from his office, when it would seem that Richard, or Roland de Blyton was appointed for the purpose of surrendering the abbey into the king's hands, which he and twenty-three monks did within two years after his appointment. Notwithstanding, however, his short tenure of office, he was awarded a handsome pension for his ready compliance with the king's wishes. The following is a list of the pensions granted out of the estates:—

Rowland de Blyton, Abbot, £65 0 0	£ 05 0 0
Thomas Jackson, <i>alias</i> de Richmond, probably Prior, £6 13 4	6 13 4
Richard Bliithe, <i>alias</i> de Scardeborg; Richard Jenkinson, <i>alias</i> de Ripon; Henry Lawton, <i>alias</i> de Thirske, each £6 0 0	18 0 0
Robert Smith, <i>alias</i> de Stanethorpe; Robert Wardale, <i>alias</i> de Pikeringe; William Stokoe; Thomas Poulson, <i>alias</i> de Garome; Richard Linge, <i>alias</i> de Whitby; William Stapleton, <i>alias</i> de Treedale; Richard Hall, <i>alias</i> de Gilling; Christopher Simondson, <i>alias</i> de Hemstere or Holmstere; William Steynson, <i>alias</i> de Gersley, each £5 6 8	48 0 0
William Wordal; James Payrweder, <i>alias</i> de Grimslygh; Oliver Watson, <i>alias</i> de Broghton; Matthew Tort, <i>alias</i> de Ampleford, each £5 0 0	20 0 0
John Altam; Thomas Crapon, <i>alias</i> de Skigby, each £4 0 0	8 0 0
	<hr/>
	£165 13 4

The site of the abbey and demesnes were granted in 1538 to Thomas Manners, thirteenth Baron de Ros and first Earl of Rutland, in exchange for other lands. He was the son of Sir Robert Manners, of Northumberland, by Eleanor, daughter of Thomas de Ros, tenth Baron, and thus descended, through females, from Walter d'Espece, the founder. On the death of his second son, Edward, without issue, the earldom devolved on his brother

John; but the barony, being by writ of summons, descended to his daughter, who carried it by marriage to Sir William Cecil, afterwards second Earl of Exeter, whose son dying *s.p.*, it passed again to the Manners family, in the person of Francis, eighteenth Baron and sixth Earl, descended from Henry, fourteenth Baron and second Earl. In 1616 he was created by patent Baron de Ros, de Hamlake, Trusbut, and Belvoir, with limitation to heirs male, but dying without issue male that title became extinct, and the barony by writ devolved on his daughter Catharine, as nineteenth in the barony. She married George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham, and on her death the barony and Helmsley estates passed to her son George, the second and profligate Duke, who married Mary, only daughter of Thomas, Lord Fairfax,



VESTRY.

the great parliamentary general. Dying deeply involved in debt, his estates were placed in the hands of trustees, who sold Helmsley and the abbey site to Sir Charles Duncombe, Knight, a London Merchant.

The Ruins.

The original church and conventual buildings were erected in the Anglo-Norman style, immediately after the foundation, of which nothing remains except the lower portion of the transept of the subsequent church, which had been the body of the old church, and was incorporated with the new church, with an additional story and an alteration in the form of the windows. These old buildings were soon found to be too straitened and inadequate for the

wants of the community, and a new style, the pointed Gothic, having become fashionable, especially with the Cistercians, they were demolished, and a new church, with the appurtenant buildings, erected on a grand scale, under the superintendence of Archbishop Aelfred.

As has been observed before, the church was placed nearly north and south, with the choir and altar at the south end; westward of the nave, and extending the entire length, was the great quadrangle, with penthouse cloisters on the western and southern sides; and westward from the centre of it extended the noble oblong refectory. The lesser quadrangle lay westward of the choir, but separated from it by an open space; and between the two quadrangles there extended, as was usual in Cistercian abbeys, a range of buildings, running westward from the transept, consisting of the chapter house, the day-room, a large dormitory, and the kitchen. Running parallel with these, on the opposite side of the small quadrangle, was another line of offices, and other sides are supposed to have been occupied by the abbot's apartments, whilst to the south-east there are traces of very extensive but unknown buildings. The entrance gateway, with the porter's lodge and the wayside chapel, was at the north-east of the church; and at the north end of the village of Rievaulx are the remains of a building supposed to have been the eleemosynarium, near which the infirmary is supposed to have been located.

Rievaulx and Fountains were the two grandest abbeys of the north of England, and equalled by few elsewhere. At the meeting of the British Architectural Association, in Nov. 1862, Mr. Gordon M. Hills exhibited photographs and plans of the two for comparison, and observed that "a comparison of the plans shewed that in the size of the edifices of the two establishments, it would be difficult to assign a superiority to either. The superior reputation which the buildings of Fountains have obtained, arose from the more perfect condition of the church, and of the west wing of the monastery in which the convent brothers were lodged, and which forms so striking a feature there, and the comparatively neglected state of the Rievaulx buildings, where in many parts about the refectory, kitchen, and adjacent offices, heaps of broken walls, rubbish and tangled bushes and brambles, prevent any very close and exact observation."

At the dissolution, the commissioners caused all the lead to be stripped from the roof of the church, and the chapter house, the abbot's house and other buildings to be demolished, so that the wonder is, that in the roofless state of those portions that were not entirely destroyed, and exposed as they have been so long to tempest, frost, and storms of wind, so much remains of the architecture of the glorious past of Gothic art to gladden the eye of the spectator. The Rev. W. Eastmead, in his *Hist. Rievallenis*, says, "the remains of this once splendid house are more entire and more magnificent than any in this part of the country;" and Cuitt,—"The arches and traceries are in a very perfect state, and the masonry after three centuries of exposure to the elements is as sound as it was at the dissolution."

The church was cruciform, the nave and choir of equal breadth throughout, with side aisles and double ranges of pillars, eight on each side in the nave, and six in the choir; a transept, with a single southern aisle, separated by two pillars in each division, besides four larger intersecting pillars to support the tower. The entire length was three hundred and forty-three feet (the nave one hundred and sixty-six feet), by sixty-three in breadth, and the transept one hundred and eighteen feet by thirty-three. The great arch at the entrance to the choir, springing from pillars thirty feet in circumference, is seventy-five feet to the apex. It is built in the Transitional and Early English style, with lancet windows, excepting those of the lower tier at the end of the choir, and first upper tier of sides, which are wider, and were probably mullioned for the display of the stained glass; and the lower part of the transept, the remains of the old Anglo-Norman church, and altogether different from the upper portion, which is of the newer style, and is built of a different stone from the lower. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* says,—"The church of Rivalx approaches the largest style of monastic ones. Both it and the refectory, and indeed all the distinguishable buildings,

are uniformly in the Early Pointed style, with lancet windows, the whole chastely executed. The pillars of the choir with their enriched arches and double tier of correspondent finishings above are in good preservation. To these the more ruinous parts of the church by their openness and lightness, form a fine contrast; and the combination produces a fascinating effect."

The nave, the last portion of the church built by the Cistercians, as is indicated at Salley Abbey, where it was never built at all, would be in the most recent style of the whole; but what its character was we know not, as it has altogether disappeared, excepting some fragmentary bits of rubbish and the foundations of the walls and pillars, which are traceable north-westward into the garden of a cottage, in which the steps of the great northern entrance were dug up not many years ago.

The choir, although roofless, is in a tolerable state of preservation, although portions of the outer walls of the aisles have gone. The aisles were separated from the centre by ranges of clustered columns, with bandings instead of capitals, from which sprang moulded pointed arches. Above these was a triforium, or arcaded passage, running round the choir, with two staircases, one of which is walled up; the centre spandrels are ornamented with quatrefoils in sunk circles. At the south or altar end are six lancet lights, three and three, the upper tier with clustered shafts and lozenge mouldings, and flanking these at the ends of the aisles are two smaller lancets, one above the other. The clerestory windows are also lancets, ranging fourteen on each side, in pairs under an arch. In 1819 the choir and transept were cleared of the accumulated debris down to the floor, when the remains of Henry le Scrope were found in a stone coffin, and removed to Helmsley churchyard. In 1821 a further clearance was made, when a fine tessellated pavement, with "AVE MARIA," wrought in the centre, was laid bare, which doubtless was the pavement before the altar; it is now placed, arranged as found, in the circular temple at the south end of Duncombe terrace. There was also found in the same locality an oblong marble slab, nine feet in length, which had most probably been the top of the altar table; also fragments of stained glass from the southern windows. When the choir was rebuilt it had begun to be the fashion to consider the previous Cistercian chancels low, dark, cramped, and undignified; of which we have a specimen in Buildwas church; hence Rievaulx, Fountains, and others of the richer abbeys rebuilt theirs with loftier proportions. "In very few instances can these new features have exceeded in grace and magnificence the choir of Rievaulx of the thirteenth century. It rivals many of our cathedrals in the stately proportions of its design, and in many respects surpasses the corresponding parts of Fountains, inasmuch as the latter happens to have suffered more destruction in its choir than anywhere else."

The lower portion of the nave side of the transept is the oldest portion of the edifice, the transept having, as stated above, been the body of the original church. In the adaptation of it to the new edifice, it was enlarged by the addition of the side aisle, and the southern side rebuilt on a loftier scale to correspond with the choir. The northern side presents the old Norman style, with round arches and two rows of round-headed windows, with bandings along the wall above and below. When the rebuilding took place, a new clerestory was raised upon the older one, and that made into a triforium; it is in a state of great preservation, with the groining of the eastern bay entire, and three tall lancet windows at each end, east and west. At the intersection is the lower stage of the tower.

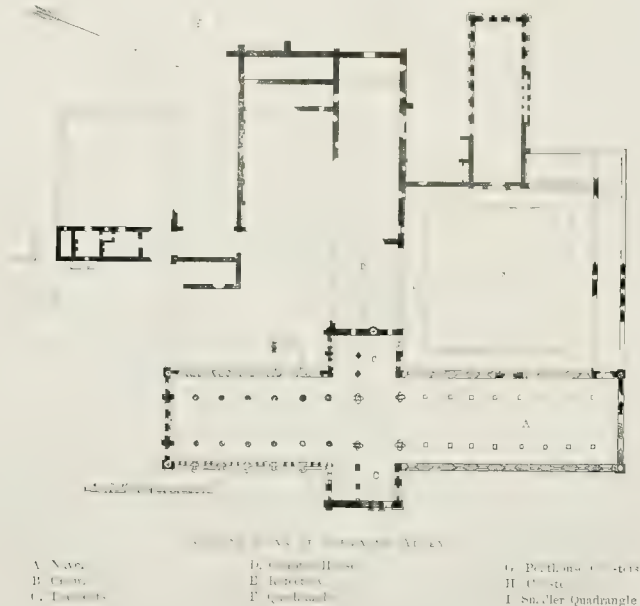
The refectory is a noble apartment, one hundred feet by thirty, situated on the western side of the great quadrangle, from which it was entered by a handsome doorway circularly arched, but ribbed, thus denoting the transition from the Norman to the Gothic arch. It is one of the best preserved parts of the buildings, the walls and windows still standing, but covered with clusterings of ivy, and the centre filled with rubbish and bushes. It has the peculiarity of having a crypt beneath, forming a platform on which it stands, which was necessitated by the rapid declivity of the ground, sloping down to the river, the level being

at that end twenty feet above the ground. Round the walls are the remains of arches, which were supported on columns in two rows, and there are the remains of what is presumed to have been a music gallery. Outside, facing the quadrangle, is a range of low archwork, and adjoining the doorway the lavatory, in which the monks washed their hands before going in to their meals. They had another large, long lavatory, with benches of stone by the walls, used on Saturday evenings for the ablution of the body. The apartment had eight lancet windows on the north side, and the same number on the south, with three at the west end. The remains may still be seen of the winding stair leading to the desk of the reader during meals.

The great quadrangle presents evidences of buildings, perhaps dormitories, on the north and west, six arches on the latter side being still in position. It formed a square of one hundred feet, and to the north of it was the orchard. The smaller quadrangle, with a round-headed archway entrance, is supposed to have been the court of the abbot's house, which run round three sides of the square, but the walls are so broken down, and the place so full of rubbish, that nothing certain can be made out. The gateway was on the north-east, where the porter had a lodge, his duties being to attend to the gate, look after the wayfarer's chapel, close by, and distribute alms-loaves to women, who were not permitted entrance.

The Seal of the Abbey.—In the Augmentation office there is a mutilated wax impression, representing an abbot, crozier in hand, between two figures, of which the feet only are left. Peck gives a drawing of one appended to a deed of 1372, which is oval in form, representing an abbot with crozier, standing beneath a pointed arch, flanked by two figures on each side, also under arches, and above the Madonna and Child, with a legend round the border—*SI. ABBATIS. ET. CONVENTVS. SANCTE. MARIE. RIEVALLIS.*

The arms of the abbey were —Gules, an abbot's crozier between three water bougets, arg. shewing the connexion of the house with the Lords Ros, descendants of the founder and patrons of the house.



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